

MARCH, 1914

*The*

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# INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

THE  $\nabla$  FIGHTING  $\blacktriangle$  MAGAZINE  
OF  $\blacktriangle$  THE  $\nabla$  WORKING  $\blacktriangle$  CLASS



COMRADES



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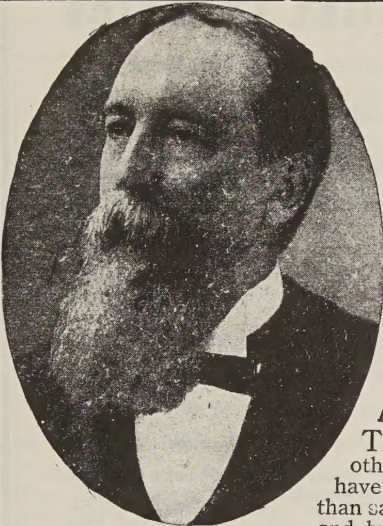
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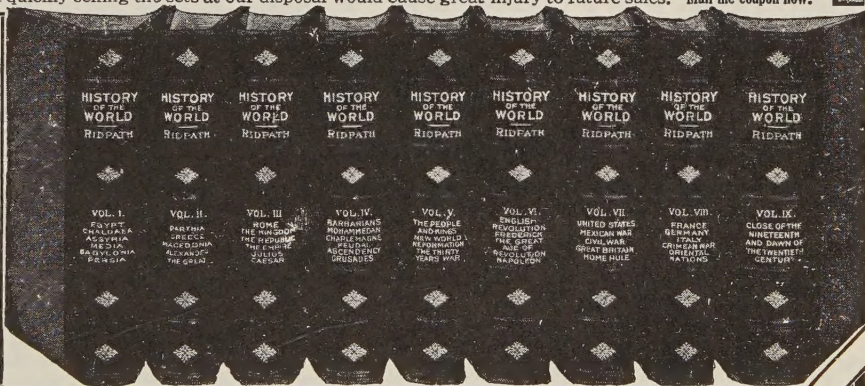
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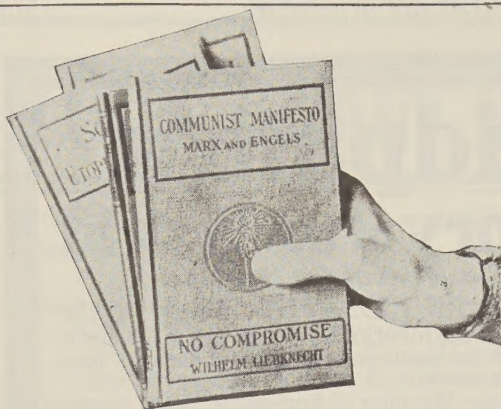
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OF, BY AND FOR THE WORKING CLASS

EDITED BY CHARLES H. KERR

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*The Editor is responsible only for views expressed on the editorial page and in unsigned department matter. Each contributor and associate editor is responsible for views expressed over his own signature.*

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*Editorial:* Connecticut Socialism : Reform from Above

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*Drawn by Arthur Young.*  
From the Masses.

MOTHER JONES: "COME ON, YOU HELL-HOUNDS."

## THE MINE GUARD

By a Paint Creek Miner

You cur! How can you stand so calm and still  
And careless while your brothers strive and bleed?  
What hellish, cruel, crime-polluted creed  
Has taught you thus to do your master's will,  
Whose guilty gold has damned your soul until  
You lick his boots and fawn to do his deed—  
To pander to his lust of boundless greed,  
And guard him while his cohorts crush and kill?

Your brutish crimes are like a rotten flood—  
The beating, raping, murdering you've done—  
You sycophantic coward with a gun:  
The worms would scorn your carcass in the mud;  
A bitch would blush to hail you as a son—  
You loathsome outcast, red with fresh-spilled blood!



# *The* INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

VOL. XIV

MARCH, 1914

No. 9

## CLASS STRUGGLE NEWS



PARADE OF STRIKERS' WIVES—TRINIDAD.

### The Latest from Trinidad

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW,  
Chicago, Ill. Dear Comrades: Replying  
to yours of Feb. 5, regarding a letter to  
Mother Jones, I must say it is impossible.  
She is held absolutely "incommunicado"—no  
one having seen her since incarceration except  
Horace Hawkins, attorney for U. M. W. A.,  
and his admission was since the Congressional  
investigation was approaching. I enclose you  
clipping from yesterday's daily showing how  
even medical advice from outside was denied  
her. "Military discipline" and general condi-  
tions are softening down much since the in-  
vestigation has become a certainty. This puts  
new hope and courage into us all.

Yours for Socialism,

GRACE B. MARIANS,  
Local Secty., S. P.

Feb. 10, 1914.

### Mother Jones Parade

On January 22 a women's parade was formed  
to make a demonstration protesting against the  
imprisonment of "Mother Jones." The line of  
march was to proceed from Castle Hall up Com-  
mercial street, along Main to the postoffice, and  
then return to Castle Hall. One of the leaders  
was an Italian woman, who did not speak or  
understand English well. She was carrying an  
American flag in the form of a large banner.  
Not knowing that the parade was to turn at the  
postoffice, she led the parade towards the hospi-  
tal where Mother Jones is held. A block from  
the postoffice the parade was met by a troop of  
cavalry commanded in person by General Chase.  
The soldiers immediately pulled the flag out of  
the woman's hands. Other women ran up and  
demanded the return of the flag. This was finally  
returned to them amidst cheers.

On receiving the flag the paraders re-formed,



turned around and started back to the hall. They had not proceeded a block when the troop of cavalry, who had now been reinforced by the infantry, charged at full gallop with drawn sabers. Women were rode down, others flocked to the sidewalks. The cavalry then charged the sidewalks, beating the people with the flat of their swords. One woman received a gash on the hand from the saber stroke. Mrs. Margaret Hammond was struck by a militiaman with his fist, cutting her forehead above the left eye and blackening both eyes. Any person objecting to the treatment was immediately seized and taken to jail.

The infantry backed up the charge with drawn bayonets, forcing the people before them. Private lawns were invaded and any persons standing on them were herded off. Even government property was not sacred. The troops drove people from the postoffice steps.

A number of people were injured in this charge, mostly women, and eighteen were taken to prison. The streets were then blocked by the militia and no person was allowed to pass up or down them without permission of an officer.

Governor Ammons upheld General Chase in his chivalrous attack upon the women of the community.

#### Calumet and Colorado.

TO ring the old year out, an "Alliance" of the godly and the respectable and the socially conscious in Calumet, Mich., hired a gang of outlaws to beat up the president of

the Western Federation of Miners, and shoot him, and run him out of town, because he was cheering the oppressed and downtrodden of that town to stand up and fight for liberty.

To ring the New Year in, the saintliest woman in this land, 81 years old, surrendered body and soul to the service of man, was received by the United States Militia in Trinidad, Colorado, at the point of the bayonet, bundled contemptuously back into her train, and shipped out of the strike district like a bag of potatoes. Violation of liberty, violation of age, of womanhood, of heroism! Violation of constitutional rights! Violation of everything that anybody with a thread of human feeling holds sacred. Violation, uniformed, brass-buttoned, armed, and sanctioned by us all. Perpetrated under, by, and with the consent of our United States Government, acting in the defense of capital against men whose crime is that they refuse to have their blood sucked by capital.

This rings in the year of our Lord 1914. This is the news of the hour. It is the news that cuts to the heart of those who feel.

From The Masses.

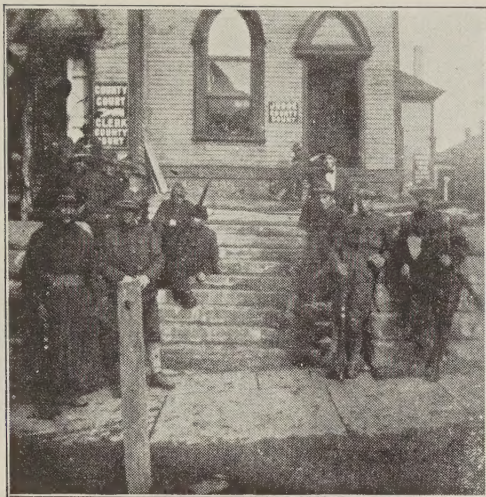
#### Blood?

MARK TWAIN was not thinking of the revolution still to be won among his own people, when he wrote these words:

"All gentle cant and philosophizing to the contrary notwithstanding, no people in the world ever did achieve their freedom by goody-goody talk and moral suasion: it being







LAW AND ORDER IN TRINIDAD.

immutable law that all revolutions that will succeed, must begin in blood, whatever may answer afterward. If history teaches anything it teaches that."

He was not thinking of the Social Revolution. But he might well have been. For there is no question that much blood will be shed ere the working class wins its liberty. There is no question that much blood *is being* shed.

There is a question, *how much?* And the answer to this question is that the longer our "virtuous" people, our idealists, our enthusiasts for democracy, continue to tinker with the Reform Machine, and the longer our churches continue to sit on the necks of the people and sing "Peace on Earth, Good Will to Men," the more blood will run before liberty is achieved.

For my part I would rather have a little red on my hands than have on my conscience a New Year's prayer like that of Cardinal Gibbons. "We thank the Lord for the prosperity that abounds throughout the length and breadth of this great land of ours," when more men are out of work and hunting for it hungry, than at any time before since the tragic weeks of 1907.

"We thank Him that we are particularly at peace within our own borders," three days after the leader of that two months' fight against tyranny in Calumet was knocked out and shot in the back by fifteen ruffians hired by the godly and respectable in alliance for the perpetuation of slavery in the copper mines.

The people who, when we say Revolution, gaze with unfocussed eye into the dim future, and ask us if we *expect* violence, are the queerest fools in the world. Let them pick up their papers every morning and look for news of the beating up, or shooting, or forcible imprisonment of a striker, and if they look in the papers that carry truth, they will not be disappointed for one single morning in the whole year. The main trouble with the persons who are supposed to be thinking about these problems is that they have read history until they are half asleep.

From The Masses.

### The Delusion of "Safety First"

NOWADAYS the railroad companies are vying with each other in advertising campaigns in which they claim that the first concern of their respective corporations is SAFETY for the passengers and for the trainmen.

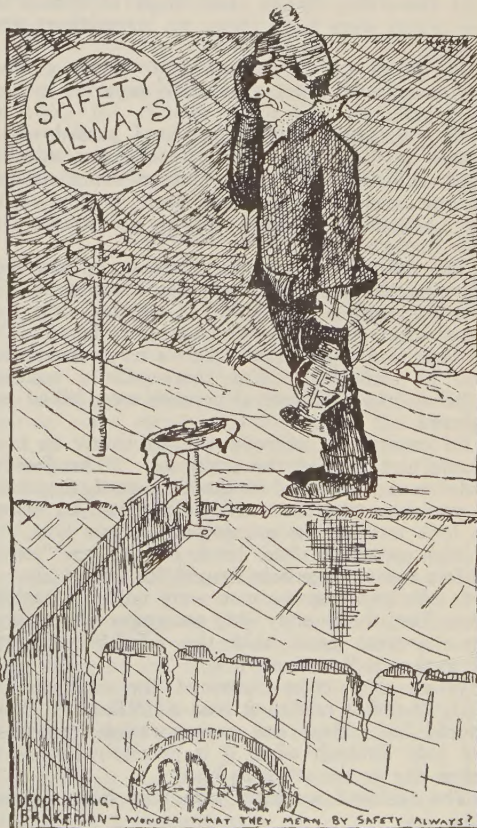
But it is amusing to note that almost all the money expended by the railroads to "promote safety" (?) IS in the advertising columns of the papers and magazines. Perhaps it was decided that it would pay better to put the money into advertisements than in equipment.

So persistently have the roads drummed in the slogan "Safety First" that some of them have almost deceived some of their own employees.

The office force of the REVIEW has enjoyed the pleasure of several visits this month from railroad boys who have shed a little light upon a very dark subject.

They tell us that the railroads have the trainmen so bound up by rules and regulations that, no matter how many accidents may occur, nor how they may occur, the blame may always be laid upon the men and the companies exonerated. The rule system is worked down "pat." Upon every single run the men are forced and expected to VIOLATE the rules in order to make it, but when a wreck occurs the officials may always point to the company rules and shift the blame onto the men.

Brakemen are still compelled to go onto the top of airbrake freight trains, when such a risk





can be of no possible good to the company property, to the public, nor to anybody else. This old custom arose at a time when trains were stopped by hand brakes instead of air. Every month sees a heavy toll of brakeman whom an outworn and useless custom has added to the great list of unfortunates.

The very simplest precautions could prevent the rear-end and head-end collisions that still cause the greatest number of train wrecks every year.

We understand that in Michigan and Indiana the Michigan Central uses a block-behind-passenger-train system of signals in which the train dispatchers show signals to prevent rear-end collisions.

In a wreck which happened recently three miles from Jackson, Mich., a train crew received the goahead signal and proceeded full speed ahead. They had been assured by the dispatcher's sign that there was no train ahead for them to rush into. At the other end of the line the trainmen on a passenger received similar signals and the two trains rushed together, met in a terrible head-on collision and several people were killed. If the company had inaugurated a block system for signals *before* trains as well as *behind* them, the accident could not have occurred.

The boys, who were of the first train crew above mentioned, had not been on the run in many weeks. They had been sent from one division to another, their chief run being into another state. As they pulled out the engineer told them they had a clear track to station X. No orders were given them; no instructions were passed.

But there was a "Sunday only" (mentioned on the time card) which they were expected to pass on a siding.

The sixteen-hour law has been passed which makes it illegal for the railroad companies to work trainmen more than sixteen hours straight at one stretch. But it has been interpreted by the companies to mean working the crews sixteen hours a day.

The railroad boys on the Sunday run had been working sixteen hours every day for months. So had the engineer. None had regular runs, but went from division to division as ordered. The block-behind signal said "there's no rear-end for you to run into." But there was a head-on collision in which several persons were killed and injured.

Of course, the railroad officials threw up their hands and blamed the trainmen. "The Sunday only" was mentioned in the time card, they said. It was true that the men had received no orders to look out for the passenger. It was true that if the passenger had been run as an "extra" orders would have been issued for everybody. It was admitted that the men were not on a regular run. But, the Sunday only passenger was printed on the time card, said the officials, and the crew should have known it.

When they cross-examined the engineer, he said, "I didn't realize it was SUNDAY!" Why should he? How can any workman remember the holy Sabbath when it is precisely like every other day in the week to him?

The railroad workers have long been fighting

the companies for safety precautions. The brunt of the burden has fallen on them. We must join hands with them in demanding safe conditions of labor for themselves and for every railroad passenger.

### The Shoe Workers

WE WANT to tell the boot and shoe workers that their officials are again serving the bosses who exploit the workers. This time the trouble comes in St. Louis. In that city there are members of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union and a strong organization of the United Shoe Workers of America. The companies whose products bear the stamp of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union pay their cutters from \$15 to \$18 for a 59-hour week. The Hamilton-Brown Company shoes, bearing the United Shoe Workers' label, have been receiving from \$21 to \$30 a week.

The Hamilton-Brown people finding that the militant United Shoe Workers' organization was gaining ground steadily in its factory, decided to call in the officials of the Boot and Shoe Workers, who have notoriously served the bosses at the expense of the shoe workers in every known instance. They recalled the letter sent the shoe manufacturers by President John Tobin of the Boot and Shoe Workers in which he said:

"In view of the fact that you can use the stamp without in any way surrendering control of your business or placing yourself to the least disadvantage, either as TO WAGES OR OTHERWISE, there appears to be no good reason why you should not secure the use of the union stamp immediately, which you can do by addressing a letter to the undersigned, who will be pleased to furnish you with all necessary information. We have made the splendid record of having gone through the last four years . . . without a strike in any department in any factory throughout the entire country where the union stamp is used. . . . It is perfectly SAFE TO DO BUSINESS with the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, no matter what may have been your disappointments in doing business with any past organization in the shoe trade. We stand ready to take your factory at its existing scale of wages and issue our union stamp under an arbitration contract, WHICH ABSOLUTELY PROTECTS YOU AGAINST BEING REQUIRED TO PAY ABOVE THE MARKET RATE OF WAGES."

The Hamilton-Brown people decided to call in the Tobin WAGE REDUCERS to help them in cutting down the wages of their working force. They immediately laid off all their employees and later sent word that they could return to work, one department at a time. The *Boston & Fitchburg Leader* says:

"The officials of the Boot & Shoe Workers are in and out of the Hamilton-Brown factory daily, trying their utmost to hold in check the few that have gone back to work. Fifteen thousand shoe workers, union men, have been forced by conditions for which the B. & S. are responsible into the independent field in order TO HAVE A VOICE CONCERNING THE





ON THE PICKET LINE—ST. LOUIS.

WAGES, HOURS AND CONDITIONS OF LABOR. Tobin has appealed directly TO THE MANUFACTURERS offering them terms injurious to the members. The officials of the B. & S. have conspired with the manufacturers to *reduce wages and employ scabs.*"

The 5,000 employes of the Hamilton-Brown people have refused to surrender to the bosses and the officials of the Boot & Shoe Workers' Union. They know surrender means longer hours, scabbery, lower wages and disruption of a bona fide union that seeks to better the conditions of the shoe workers instead of improving the profits of the bosses. There have been but six desertions from the ranks of the strikers.

Strike benefits are being paid all and the United Shoe Workers will allow nobody to suffer. The officials of the Boot & Shoe Workers are scouring the country to secure scabs to help break the strike. Twenty-five so-called shoe workers have been sent in. The Tobin traitors have paid their railroad fare and told them to take taxicabs to the best hotel in town, where general vice-president of the B. & S., Collis Lovely, entertains them until they are taken to the factories.

A concerted effort is being made to kill the new REAL union. The workers in the B. & S. will soon see that the United Shoe Workers' Union is the only one that can really serve their interests and will refuse to take the places of their brothers and sisters on strike who belong to this organization.

Strikes have been forced on the United Shoe Workers in Lynn, Stoneham, New York, Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Louis and the Boot & Shoe Workers' OFFICIALS are trying to send men to fill the places of the strikers. You B. & S. men, DON'T SCAB. Rather leave the organization which your officials is using as a scabbing agency. The Boot & Shoe Workers' Union officials are LOWERING WAGES. They are tying you up with contracts that will force you to SCAB. They are helping your bosses to INCREASE HOURS.

The United Shoe Workers of America are organized to HELP THE SHOE WORKERS. They have raised wages, shortened hours. Get in the real organization that fights the battles of the workers.

The shoe strikers in St. Louis are putting up a glorious fight. They intend to win and then they mean to win all the shoe workers to the organization that the workers control. They have seen John Tobin helping the bosses long enough.

These striking comrades are now out in the streets doing picket duty in St. Louis, while the Tobin strikebreakers are inside planning how to help the bosses to beat them.

You shoe workers, take this matter up in your local union and join the United Shoe Workers which serves the workers all the time and the workers only.

A Lynn (Mass.) newspaper says: "The A. F. of L. is constitutionally barred from recognizing the two organizations and is prevented from taking away the charter from the one that has eased to be a legitimate labor organization and aliepatates a large body of workers who have organized and maintain a bona fide union."

### Amilcare Cipriani

Seldom since the formation of United Italy, more than forty years ago, has there been such a genuine wave of enthusiasm sweeping Italy as at present. And all because Amilcare Cipriani, the veteran revolutionist, has been elected to the Chamber of Deputies by the Socialists of the sixth district in Milan. As the news of Sunday's working class victory spreads from the snowy banks of Lake Como in the Alps to the salt city of Trapani, at the extreme toe of the "boot," parades, speeches, fireworks and all manner of demonstrations by Socialists and union men show the joy of the awakening proletariat.

The Socialist press is jubilant, *l'Avanti*, the principal party daily, proclaiming the election of Cipriani as the greatest triumph won by the Socialist movement in Italy. On the other hand, the organs of the government are furious, and fairly froth at the mouth in an effort to prove the old communard a villain of the deepest dye, whose election is invalid and who will never be allowed to take his seat as the fifty-fourth Socialist deputy.

*La Tribuna*, the semi-official evening paper of this city, characterizes Cipriani as the very embodiment of a revolutionary movement that will



end in a catastrophe on the barricades. *Il Corriere della Sera* of Milan, the most powerful bourgeois paper in Italy, declares that Cipriani is ineligible to the chamber.

The upper class women wore sashes of red, white and green and appealed to the voters to vote for the government, while the working-women wore sashes of red and worked for Cipriani. Cipriani is one of the Socialists most feared by the government.

### The Wheatland Boys

HERMAN Suhr and Richard Ford, leaders of the strike on the Durst Hop Ranch at Wheatland, have been convicted of murder in the second degree, in the trial for the murder of District Attorney Edmund Manwell, killed in the raid of the sheriff's posse on a peaceable meeting of men, women and children strikers. William Back and Harry Bagan, who stood trial with them, have been released "on account of insufficient evidence."

Ford and Suhr are convicted of murder. But they are not convicted of actually having murdered Mr. Maxwell. They are convicted of conspiring to murder, of being accessory before the fact.

The evidence of several eye witnesses proved that the District Attorney was killed by a Porto Rican, who came to the rescue of his fellow strikers. But the Porto Rican was killed himself; Ford and Suhr were not killed. And, as Prosecuting Attorney Carlin says, "The blood of Ed Manwell cries from the ground for their conviction." The employing class cry for their conviction, Mr. Carlin might have added with less false sentiment and more truth. For these men, Ford and Suhr, were strike leaders, and their strike promised to be successful, had not the sheriff's posse acted as strikebreakers for the Hop Barons.

These are the reasons for the conviction of Ford and Suhr. The precedent of a conviction of a labor leader for conspiracy to murder, of being accessory before the fact to any violence fomented by the employers in time of industrial trouble, is choked down the throats of the working class in California. And a staggering blow is given of the organization of the migratory workers, in whose vast army they urge toward organization had just begun to take embryonic shape.

Immediately behind the four prisoners during the trial sat Mrs. Suhr and Mrs. Ford, each with her two children. Suhr is desperately broken by the tortures of the Burns detectives, and even wiry, spirited hopeful Ford shows the long imprisonment and the strain. But the men show their ordeal hardly more than their wives.

As they sat before the twelve men who were to decide their fate, it was difficult to imagine a situation where justice would be more bitterly impossible to secure than in this county of Yuba, from which change of venue had been denied the four prisoners. Not a man in the jury who would not consider (however falsely) that his financial interests would be more secure for the

conviction of these men. Not a man there who knew them or had ever looked upon their faces before. Not a man there who did not know at least by reputation, the dead man, his widow and orphans. Not a man who had not read the bitter attacks of the local press, condemning these men to the gallows before they were even brought to trial. Not a man who had ever read a word favorable to them (the reading of the pamphlet sent into Yuba County by this league having been declared by the judge to disqualify a man from jury service). Not a man in the jury, probably, who did not share the prejudice of the man with a home, against the so-called hobo.

Austin Lewis' plea for the defense was brilliant, profoundly human and convincing. It took the evidence, as given by both sides and utterly demolished the case of the prosecution with the sword of cold reason, slashed the cowardly Standwood for his persecutions of helpless prisoners, and then flung itself upward in such an appeal to the blood-kindred of all men in aspirations for betterment and freedom, such as the strike on the Durst Ranch, as must have stirred the blood of every listener. But Lewis was a stranger to the jurymen, and their petty life in an agricultural community rendered it impossible for them to judge in a case involving an industrial question.

Prosecuting Attorney Carlin, who followed, had set his stage well. Opposite the jury sat the widow of the dead man with her six children. Intimately, as a man might talk to them leaning over the front fences, Carlin drove his plea home to the jury, every man of whom knew him, and many of whom, it is stated, were under obligations to him. Analysis of the testimony there was none; argument there was none; reason there was none.

A poor, shabby, cowardly speech, vulgar and dull. But it did not have to be very clever. All was well prepared without a clever plea. The judge read to the jury instructions from the law exactly covering a conviction for conspiracy in these cases, and hastily skipped over the instructions which would have freed the men by showing that Ford and Suhr did not aid and abet the Porto Rican who did the shooting.

The crooked, brutal case was about finished. The prophecy of gentlemen intimately associate with the ever clever Burns detectives to the effect that the verdict would be brought in at 1:30 p. m. on January 31, was correct. Society women and social workers who had come up from San Francisco, representatives of the press, investigators from the new Federal Commission on Industrial Relations, townsmen and townswomen crowded the courtroom. And the impious mock dignity of the law went on its wind-inflated way, to free the two men whom it dare not hold and to pronounce guilty the two whose sole crime was that they rose to lead out of the darkness, a helpless crowd of men, women and children,—to convict these men who used what talents were theirs to voice the will and aspirations of these people for clean and decent conditions and a wage sufficient to allow them to hold up their heads as men.

Their cases will be appealed, and the storms of protest and wrath will not be downed until they are free.



# THE MINERS' CONVENTION

Hubert Langerock

ANOTHER miners' convention has come and gone and again arises the selfsame question: What has it proved, to what extent is it an index of the power of working class action in the United States?

Any one of the acts of such a convention can be lifted out of the proceedings by a prejudiced mind and used to some advantage by a prejudiced mind to bolster up a pet theory. But to what conclusion do the events of the convention taken as a whole lead the average working-class onlooker who has nothing else to further than his own material interests merged into those of his class?

Let us see. If numbers are an index of the strength and value of a gathering, this was certainly a great meeting. It was so large that it was unwieldy. It had a mania to get afire too easily. It could be swung from one extreme to another. Its mass-psychology could have been higher.

The delegates came directly from the locals and there is a probability that these picked the best timber they could afford, as in all conventions, a lot of valuable educational work resulted from the comparing of notes and data on labor conditions, prices and methods of administration.

A composite picture of the eighteen hundred delegates would show a sturdy type of some five feet six inches high, square of shoulders, slightly stooped, but on the whole fairly successful in defending his physical individuality against the occupational diseases of a dangerous and unhealthy calling.

In the conquest of this condition the union has been the most efficient weapon and the beneficiary does not seem likely to forget it. He loves his union to such an extent that, if you are not a diplomat in showing up its weaknesses or the possibilities for improvement, he may become suspicious and refuse to listen to

you any longer. It is a noble sentiment and—like all noble sentiments—liable to be abused. In Indianapolis the union-feeling was running riot. The stage had been set just for producing such an effect, there were improvised flags used in real battles with the armed thugs of the companies and a tent riddled with bullet holes by one of the militia machine guns had been set up on the stage.

Not in the waves of negative enthusiasm running over the convention in heart-felt storms of indignation at the recital of the sufferings and the wrongs inflicted upon the strikers in violation of the law could the capacity of the convention be determined—from that point of view achievements only speak. What counts is the success achieved in settling the delicate and complex questions which the convention had to solve.

There is, for instance, the ever necessary watchfulness against the inroads of professionalism. Professional deformation is ever present in the economic organizations of labor. It develops, in the chosen leaders, the mentality of a petty bourgeois of the middle class. Through long and steady performance of the daily grind of his routine work, the union official is prone to forget the fundamental reason for his existence and ends by making of himself an end instead of a means to an end. Thus he slowly begins to subordinate in his personal vision all necessary social transformations to the defense of his job, and later, of the system which makes his job a necessity through his implied necessity of collective bargaining. Only too often have the selfish calculations of such labor professionals been the only obstacle to the readjustments of labor organizations required by a change in the mode of production.

Taking the working conditions of the coal miners as they are today, it is only too true that their industry offers the most fertile field for the spread of pro-



fessionalism amongst the leaders. Employers have been for years pitting nationality against nationality. A dozen tongues in a coal camp is not an uncommon sight, and for this Tower of Babel the union's headquarters and agents are the clearing house, the instrument of working class unity of purpose.

No wonder, then, that under such conditions the most short-sighted and hence the most individualistic of the union leaders do use their jobs as stepping stones to political preferment at the hands of the capitalistic class parties or to smuggle themselves into the ranks of the smaller operators, where by the grace of the railroads, some two by four coal companies are allowed to scramble along with their life at all times at the mercy of the bankers and the men who control credit.

Now, let it be said in honor of the delegates that they saw the breakers ahead and effectively undertook to steer clear of them. There was a healthy demand for decentralization of power concretely uttered in the shape of a demand to reduce the number of delegates to the convention. There was a strong demand voiced without bitterness or personalities, to regulate and define the power of officers, and the small majority by which the increase of the president's salary was carried must be quoted as the sanest instance of the necessity felt by the rank and file for a keener control. The best criticisms of both the union and the convention were brought out by the miners themselves in resolutions offered to the convention itself.

That effort at self-improvement showed itself in the demand for suppression of the commissioners. Commissionerships are the little backdoor through which checkweighmen and union officials stealthily sneak in to sell to the operators the capacity for handling men which they have developed in, through, and often at the expense of the union. To the same line of self-criticism belongs the well deserved slap at Secretary Wilson.

With all this capacity for collective introspection the convention was easy to sway. The miners were in a joyful mood and it is part of the trade secrets of the skillful manipulator of men and crowds to turn such conditions into channels of irrational emotionalism, regardless of the

better guidance of principles coldly but logically worked out.

There was a woman who had received permission to run a restaurant in the lobby; she could not run it alone, she had to have help and used non-union help. Union cooks and waiters protested, the woman was called upon for an explanation; she happened to be somewhat of a speaker, and told the average middle-class, looking-for-sympathy story of a home half paid for, about to be lost and now to be rescued through this restaurant venture, and she won out. Emotion triumphed over economic considerations so sound that no delegate would have dared to contradict them in a private conversation.

Another instance: the old and the new charity, the Little Sisters of the Poor and the Volunteers of America, those who help the poor and those who live off the poor, made a plea for a collection and got it; and who would not have hated to be the one chosen to remind this proletarian gathering of the degradation of charity and the necessity for all conscious workers to reject it with contempt both actively by refusing their mite, and passively by not lowering themselves to accept its doles.

These were real emotional mistakes, hampering the convention in its task, seriously reducing its capacity for its main task: the translation of the wishes and needs of 450,000 miners into the constructive policies of their union.

The shortcomings were real, but they did not overshadow the collective capacity of the gathering. The leaders became aware of it, and to such an extent that they made unlooked-for confessions and promised not to let their petty personalities stand in the way of much needed improvements in organization. As a result, amalgamation with the Western Federation of Miners is in sight, a committee has been jointly appointed by the two organizations to draft a working agreement within a given time.

Such are the possibilities of industrial unionism, of the one big union idea, when it is sustained by a strong revolutionary feeling. It is the best school where the rank and file can learn to express their will and bring it into execution, and the convention, although it proved that the



miners as a whole had still their economic education to complete, demonstrated also that real progress had only come with a form of organization in harmony with the mode of production, and permeated with the spirit of proletarian revolt.

In routine work the convention was at its best, working in a matter of fact way, very much like a stockholders' meeting or a board of directors driving a hard bargain.

In the handling of legislative problems the delegates seemed less at home. Their lack of training cropped out in the handling of the immigration problem. There was a vague demand for a check on the influx of foreign labor-power, but the convention seemed at a loss to find a suitable method to put its wish into execution.

The climax of the whole proceedings came when the report of the delegates to the Seattle Convention of the A. F. of L. was taken up. It did not take long before the debate was widened into a discussion of the whole problem of working class organization on both the political and economic field with all their mutual relations and reactions. The attack on the A. F. of L. was more outspoken than ever. Fossilized, dead, rotten, incapable of a forward move, opposed to an adequate form of unionism; such were a few of the expressions used, and then as the final thrust, came the personal attack upon the leaders of the Federation as a gang of booze-fighters.

A statue higher than that of George Washington was promised to the man who could break down the barrier of resistance erected by the conservative element of the Federation. The futility of the "reward and punish" policy as a substitute for political class-action was not even mentioned, being a foregone conclusion. There were demands for an endorsement of the Socialist Party and others for leaving the Federation. None of them prevailed. Avowed Socialists feared to look as if they intended to drive men into a political party whose principles they did neither understand nor accept. Perhaps they forgot that right today the Gompers machine, making of the Federation the tail of the Democratic kite, is putting them in that very position. As for leaving the Federation, this was

against the unity of the working class on the economic field, and therefore taboo. Delegates seemed to look upon this unity as upon a fetish and not the least radical wished with almost superstitious timidity to leave to somebody else—probably the Catholic church through the Militia of Jesus Christ—to assume the historical responsibility of smashing the unitary frame of present-day economic organization.

It cannot be disputed that, although the charges of MacDonald were equivalent in substance and form to those made by Haywood, for instance, the fact that they were uttered under the Federation's own roof increased their gravity and will cause them to bear deeper results.

Gompers was sent for and appeared before the convention. He did not have the courage to fight openly against industrial unionism, and gave most of his time to personal matters. His efforts fell flat. The stock arguments, so often used with telling effect at the general conventions and always applauded with automatic energy by the closed ranks of the Federation's professionals, seemed to have lost their efficacy; they seemed to fall on deaf ears. Gompers was the most confused man in the hall. He stammered and stuttered. Never before had he appeared so pitifully small and so mercifully ridiculous, unless it be in Paris, a few years ago, when the Austrian weaver Huebner answered his jingo subtleties about the peculiarities of the American Craftsman by an impatient invitation to go back and sit down.

Not even in his personal defense against the indifferent charge of habitual drunkenness was he able to enthuse his sympathizers in the audience. Perhaps too much has been made out of that incident. An excess of drink is within the consequences of the petty bourgeois frame of mind and the gompsonian notion of success, but the editorials in the *American Federationist*, for instance, are of such a degree of stupid pedantry and childish metaphysics, that it matters mighty little whether their author was drunk or sober when he wrote them. And after all, who cares about the editorials, who confesses to have wasted his spare time reading them?

The convention turned against Gompers,



it was the conclusion of the dissatisfaction which started in Seattle, when White was not elected to take John Mitchell's seat as second vice-president, but was given the sixth or seventh vice-presidency, a berth which he refused, and which all the diplomacy of the person who writes Gompers' letters could not induce him to take.

Gompers' defeat alarmed the forces which benefit from his control of the Federation and help him to maintain it. The Democrats and the Catholic church grew anxious, there was talk of dispatching some of their big guns to the convention at once, but wiser ones warned the Federation machine against overshooting the mark and Senator Kern alone came. He has helped some unions, has introduced a couple of motions to investigate in the Senate and is an all around smooth politician. The ovation which he received proves the uncertainty of the mass-mind of the convention and how the education of the delegates ought to be looked after

by the rank and file to prevent the possibility of stampedes towards an individual or a personality.

A few years ago it was one of Gompers' hobbies that the creation of a political party of the working class would make the trade-union conventions the arena of politics and politicians and here was now the same Gompers throwing a trade-union convention open to the representative of that bourgeois party to whose security in power he would not hesitate to sacrifice the miners of Michigan and Colorado.

Kern came very near succeeding as far as a reaction towards Gompers was concerned. The glimmer of hope for a revolutionary industrial unionism through the internal evolution of the Federation died almost out, but taking the proceedings as a whole a real progress is noticeable. Those who had witnessed the previous conventions could notice the progress realized. Here is a ferment and a good chance that it will leaven the whole loaf before it is too late.

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## WAR IN MEXICO



AFTER THE BATTLE OF MATAMORAS.



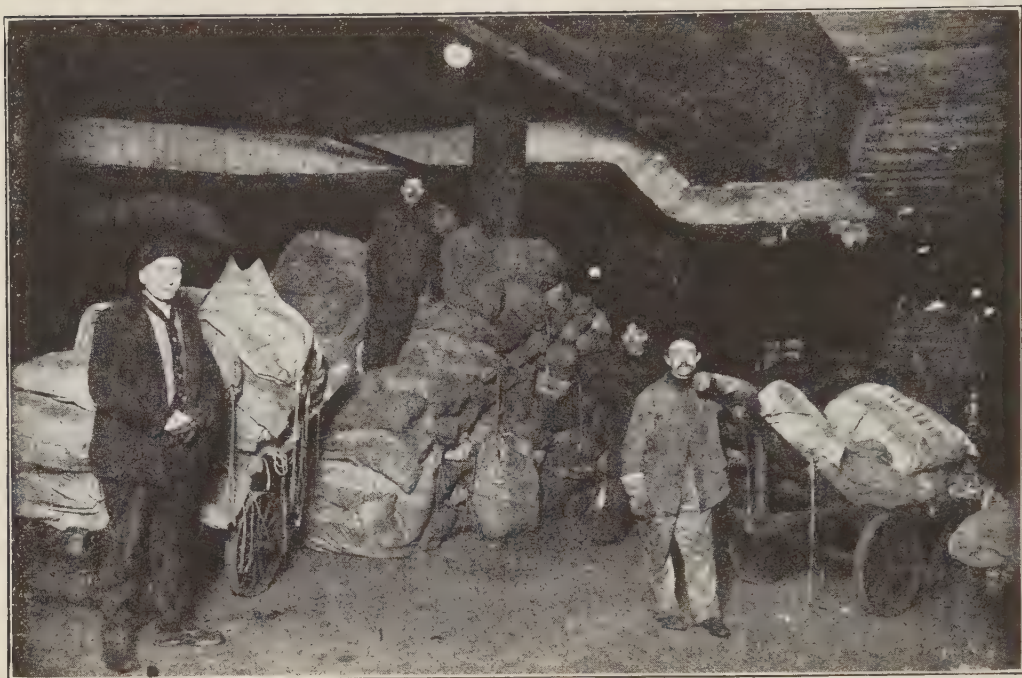


VICTIMS OF THE MEXICAN OIL WAR:



ONE DIED FOR THE ENGLISH AND ONE DIED FOR THE AMERICAN OIL TRUST





## "THE WORKERS AND THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT"

By John Wanhope

THE apparently insignificant and local strike of 138 mail wagon chauffeurs, which started in New York City during the last few days of October, has resulted in the establishment of a precedent which is of national importance to organized labor. The conviction of eleven union drivers, who were charged with "conspiring to obstruct the United States Mail," means that all Federal and quasi-Federal employes who seek to better their immediate condition through strikes, are liable to a charge of conspiracy.

This blow does not alone affect workers employed directly by the Government, but all workers employed by any private firm which holds a contract from the Federal Government. The right to or-

ganize is not denied, but any effort on the part of the workers to effect better conditions for themselves can be turned into charges of conspiracy.

Thousands of Government employes are thus denied the right to demand more bread and butter, and the precedent established by sending eight of the mail drivers to jail, tends to kill forever any germ of revolt that Federal employes may cherish and look forward to.

Organized labor has received a blow that it will take many years to recover from. The Federal Government, on the other hand, is becoming more bold, and will continually swing the club of conspiracy over the heads of those who would strike, and thereby hamper the workings of any Government institution.



Not alone will the club of conspiracy swing, but the Federal Government will go into the strikebreaking business with real earnestness. The power of the Government is far more effective than that of the private concerns engaged in the nefarious business, for the entire machinery of capitalist government can be used against the workers.

The Federal Grand Jury, the marshals, the district attorneys and the rest of the Government machinery is now enabled to break a strike, and can do it quicker and more effectively than the bullets and black jacks of private strikebreakers.

Under the pretense of preserving law and order, keeping intact the ancient traditions of private property, the Federal Grand Jury indicted eighteen union drivers, thereby breaking the backbone of the strike, and enabling a private corporation to get a tighter grasp on its wage slaves.

The municipal authorities also lent a helping hand to the affected firm, by placing policemen on the trucks of the company. Between the Government and the municipal authorities, the complete desire of the private corporation was effected. That desire was to reduce the workers to submissiveness and forever teach those employed in Government work that they cannot strike.

A clear statement of the facts about the strike and subsequent conviction of the mail drivers is ample proof of the power of a private corporation which is able to use the Government as a tool to effect its ends.

For the past ten years, Local 537 of the Mail Wagon Chauffeurs and Drivers Union of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters of the American Federation of Labor has had agreements with the various firms which transported the mails in New York City.

When the Postal Transfer Service, Inc., a newly formed body, received the contract for the handling of mails below 45th street, in New York City, it was the general opinion that little difficulty would be encountered in securing an agreement between the workers and the company.

The company began operations in August, two months after it had received the contract. More than one hundred immense automobile trucks were put into

commission, and the men employed by the previous contractor were continued in the employ of the new company.

Immediately, it was seen that a fight for recognition of the union was bound to take place. Members of the union were slowly but steadily being weeded out. Restrictions were placed upon the wearing of the union button, and other petty abuses and provocations were heaped upon the men. Efforts to remedy the situation were fruitless, and in desperation the workers appealed to Postmaster General Burleson, who offered no solution for the problem.

The climax was reached when Patrick Johnson, an ardent union man, was placed on the extra working list for apparently no reason. On October 26th the men held an indignation meeting at their headquarters, and it was decided to appeal to the firm for a final answer. Nothing came of the conference, and on the night of October 27th, every worker returned his truck to the company's garage.

They demanded that the working hours be decreased from 12 and 15 to ten, and that a minimum wage of \$3 per day be given, instead of the \$60 to \$90 monthly received before.

The company had evidently been prepared for the occasion, and at once manned its trucks with strikebreakers. Two hours after the strike had been called the company had appealed to Police Commissioner Waldo, who ordered cops to man the trucks and protect the scab drivers. Disturbances were few that night, but several strikers were arrested for daring to ask the men to leave the trucks.

The next day was disastrous for the company. Many of the trucks were disabled by the reckless and ignorant strikebreakers, and the company was in a bad way. The capitalist press was eager for a chance to take a crack at the strikers, and at once the cry of "sabotage" was heard in the columns of the daily papers.

One of the trucks was burnt that afternoon, near the union headquarters. A striker, it was said, had thrown a rock at the strikebreaker on the machine, and the cop gave chase. When he succeeded in catching the culprit he brought him back to the truck and locked him inside.



The scab attempted to start the machine, but found it impossible. An enormous crowd had gathered near it, and in a few moments the front of the machine was in flames.

The strikers, fearing their comrade would be burnt to death, freed him, and the rescue resulted in the arrest of another striker.

All day the trucks were continually being towed to the garage in a disabled condition. The cause, the papers shouted, was that sand had been mixed with the oil, that water had been poured in the gasoline, and that the magneto wires and gas lines had been cut. The trouble continued and the bought press was shouting that the strikers were un-American dynamiters, blackhanders, and thugs.

In the meantime, the Postal Transfer Service, Inc., had sought the aid of a Tammany leader, who was able to supply a large number of gunmen. The headquarters of these gentlemen was the company's garage, where they lived and planned the attacks upon the strikers. Each officer of the company had a private automobile, and these were used by the thugs in their raids. The officers of the company often personally directed the attacks.

It was noticeable that when these raids occurred the police were never on the job, but always far away from the scene of disorder. Election time was near and the Tammany boss apparently interfered in the behalf of the strikers. He accomplished nothing, and was always promising the "boys" that something would be done.

When election was over, the raids continued with renewed vigor. The strike headquarters at 28th street and Eighth avenue, were raided by the gunmen. Records were stolen, and three of the union men hurled from the windows of the place.

As a result of the raid the strikers were forced to establish headquarters in another part of the city. In this place the police continually watched. Several times all those inside the headquarters were lined up against the wall and searched by the cops, who were unable to find anything. As usual, the cry of dynamite went up, and another search

was made for the deadly explosive, but needless to say, none was found.

The Federal Grand Jury then began an investigation. Despite the fact that the Postal Transfer Service, Inc., boasted that the strike had not hampered the mails; eighteen indictments were returned against the strikers for "conspiring to obstruct the United States Mail."

Poses of deputy marshals, deputy sheriffs, headed by officials of the company, scoured the city for the men. They were hunted down like wild beasts, and often taken at the point of revolvers. Each day a few would be caught and held in \$5,000 bail each, by Commissioner Shields.

Although the workers were affiliated with a big labor organization backed by the A. F. of L., nothing was done to obtain the release of the men in jail.

The bail was reduced to \$1,500 each after the men had spent six days in the Tombs. Sixteen men had been caught and released. The indictment had the effect of breaking the strike. Many of the union men had in the meantime, gone to the District Attorney, who took statements from them regarding the strike. Many of these traitors were reinstated in the service of the Postal Transfer Service, Inc., later.

The union, unknown to the men, had been filled with spies who daily informed the company. Through the informers the district attorney was able to obtain confessions from about 75 men, and upon their testimony the indictments were handed down.

The indicted men, with the union treasury empty, needed a legal representative to appear for them at the coming trial. After weeks of begging from individuals and local labor unions, a few hundred dollars was obtained.

On January 6th, the trial was called in the United States District Court, and was postponed until the 13th and finally the 15th, when the jury was chosen.

The twelve "peers" of the drivers, who were finally chosen to try the men, were without an exception, business men, fairly well situated in life. Assistant District Attorney James Osborne made an opening speech to the jury, in which he painted the men as the blackest of all criminals, for they had sought to disturb

the peace of the community. One of the defendants was then discharged, the prosecution admitting that they had no evidence against him.

A number of officers of the company indignantly denied that gunmen had ever been hired to protect the property or beat up the strikers. In all about forty witnesses gave testimony for the Government. None of them could directly connect any of the strikers with the acts charged in the indictment. The prosecution, seeing that the case had fallen through, admitted that it had failed to make a clear case, and asked that circumstantial evidence be admitted.

Judge Killits of Ohio, who was presiding at the trial, showed his prejudice by continually overruling the objections of the defense and sustaining practically all of the objections of the prosecution. Killits decided to admit circumstantial evidence, over the objections of the defense.

The circumstantial evidence consisted of a number of broken gas lines, cut magneto wires, and other damaged parts of the disabled trucks. Not a defendant was directly connected with any of these depredations, but still the prosecution maintained that since these acts had been committed during the strike, that fact alone was enough to prove that the strikers were guilty of conspiracy.

When the fifteen defendants took the stand, the evidence of the government witnesses was shown to be untrue in every respect. One of the government witnesses had testified that he saw one of the defendants have a bomb. "It looked like a cigar," he said, "and had a fuse on it. It was wrapped in tinfoil, and when the defendant threw it out in the street it exploded with tremendous force." When the true facts were revealed it was found that the bomb was nothing but a five-cent smoker, broken in half and wrapped in tinfoil.

It was brought out in the trial that the Postal Transfer Service, Inc., had freely dispensed money during the strike to obtain statements about the workers. They attempted to bribe one of the defendants while he was drunk, and succeeded in getting a statement from him. This statement was used in the case but was not harmful to the defense.

Assistant District Attorney Roger B. Woods, in his summing up, asked in the name of "law and order," that the men be convicted. He declared them a "menace to the business fabric of the nation," and naturally such declarations before a jury of business men, had the desired effect. It took the jury only a little more than five hours to decide that eleven of the fifteen men were guilty as charged.

In his charge to the jury, Judge Killits emphasized the point that there are no classes in this country, and that the nation did not desire any. A Socialist reporter, in speaking to him during the trial had directed his attention to the fact that there were classes in this country.

The sentences were considered to be light, in view of the fact that the maximum is \$10,000 fine and two years' imprisonment. It is the general opinion that the Judge, in order to avoid an appeal, made the sentences as light as he could.

Of the eleven found guilty, William Simpson, Louis Terry and George MacGrath were given suspended sentences of one year.

The three union officers, David Hockberg, president; Timothy D. Kennedy, secretary and treasurer, and William Krall, recording secretary and Central Federated Union delegate, were given eighteen months each in the Federal Penitentiary at Atlanta. Charles MacCaffery, William Eusillius and Patrick Johnson received fifteen months each, while Tony Fasano was sentenced to one year and a day at the penitentiary.

Frank Gilleece was given two months at Blackwell's Island. William B. Gluck, John O'Hara, Patrick Braanigan and George Canning were found not guilty. Patrick Donohue was discharged during the trial. George Hetherington and Thomas Fitzgerald were never apprehended.

The Judge, in sentencing the men, laid the cause of the trouble to the alleged fact that the men were free imbibers of drink, and that was the logic they used in the strike. Killits stated that after serving one-third of their terms all the men sent to Atlanta would be eligible to parole. He and the District Attorney will sign the papers for their release.

So ended one of the most dramatic and interesting trials in the history of labor.



"Justice" had been done. Eight men had been sent to jail on the testimony of gunmen, thugs, detectives and spies. The workers had been convicted of conspiracy, through the workings of the Federal and municipal authorities, and by a jury of their "peers."

Any member of a labor organization cannot speak to his brother unionist without being responsible for the other fellow's utterances. Labor unions can be

formed as long as they don't injure private property, and are not effective.

There is one moral to be learned, and it is this: "Don't demand more, if you are in any way connected with the Government, for it will get you no matter which way you turn."

And again: The Federal Government has gone into the strikebreaking business. It will fight for any private corporation, with indictments and not bullets.

## The Land Without Strikes

By William E. Bohn

IF this were merely the report of a strike it would not be surprising. New Zealand has seen strikes aplenty before now. But the recently concluded struggle of the Waterside workers shows up New Zealand capitalism in a most astounding manner. They may not be more rapacious and cruel than others, but they are surely more devious and hypocritical. With the smoothest imaginable talk about the good of the community they have been using the arbitration law to break the back of the labor movement.

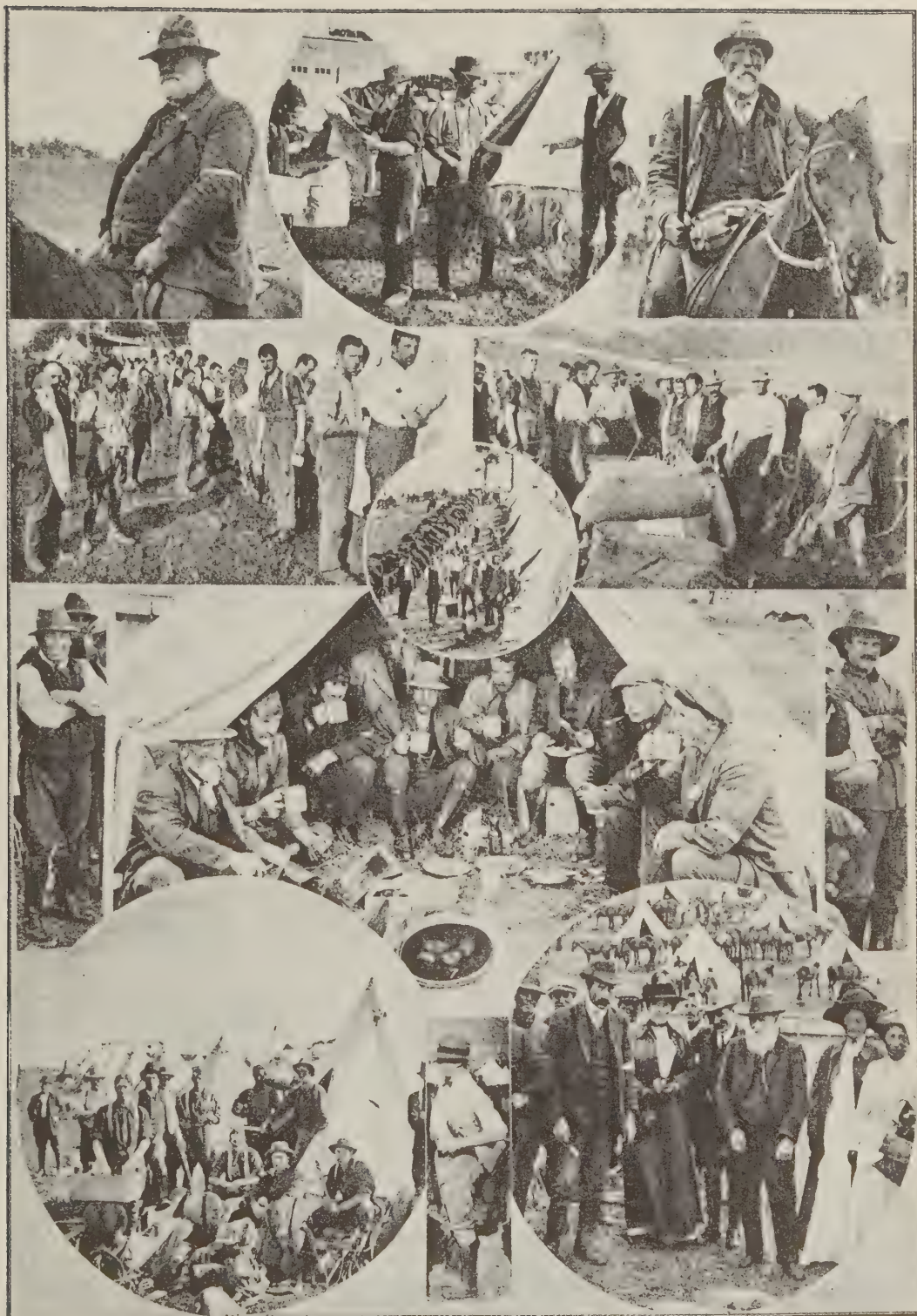
Their method should commend itself to capitalists in other countries. Let us say that a local union of two hundred members presents demands to the employers. The demands are turned down, and the men go on strike. The employers' federation declares the union non-existent because it has broken the arbitration law. Then they organize a new "union." That is, they get together a dozen or so of strike-breakers and have them sign up under the law as a union. According to the law any fifteen men can form a union of any trade. It is said that in one case during the waterside strike six men and a dog formed such a "union." Straightway the strike-breakers become the union men, and the unionists are advertised as outlaws.

So the arbitration law places unionism in the hands of the employers. No wonder that the General Laborers' Union, a rebel organization, has grown so amazingly during the past two years.

The following account of the Waterside strike is chiefly taken from a report of the great Australian union conference called to consider the struggle of the New Zealanders. The trouble broke out in October. The shipwrights of Wellington struck on account of a dispute in regard to a certain traveling time allowance. The Waterside workers, according to custom, held a stop-work meeting to consider the situation. Those who attended the meeting were immediately discharged, and this began a general fight along the waterfront.

The workers recognized that the employers were proceeding with a systematic union-smashing policy. In accordance with the method outlined above unions had already been destroyed at several places: A general Laborers' Union, at Auckland; an Engine Drivers' Union, at Waihi; Coal Miners' organizations, at Huntley and Kaitangata; a Waterside Union, at Timaru. In the present instance at Wellington the employers insisted upon dividing the Waterside Federation into branches and coming to separate agreements with each group. And this in spite of the fact that a committee of the men was forced to deal, not with their own employers, but with representatives of the Employers' Federation of New Zealand.

The struggle rapidly became general. Many trades came out with the "Watersiders." Among these were the miners. Many others, carpenters, bricklayers, etc., donated money and refused to use "scab"



Farmers Volunteered to Load and Unload the Ships and to Scab on the Strikers in Every Industry. They Acted as Mounted Constables and Proved Particularly Vicious in Routing Picketers.



materials. In Australia dockers and railway workers decided not to forward freight loaded by strike-breakers.

The government, representing the men as law-breakers, because they were outside the provisions of the Arbitration act, called out the police and soldiers. The Farmers' Union, of Auckland, sent a circular calling on its members to act as strike-breakers. And many of them did as they were requested. Practically every considerable town on the island became the scene of ruthless carnage. There are many tales of firing on defenseless crowds and not a few persons were killed and wounded.

A very characteristic story is that of the crew of the steamer *Opawa*. The *Opawa* arrived at Wellington from London early in the struggle. When the crew learned that the vessel was being unloaded by strike-breakers twenty-one of the men quit. They were haled before a magistrate and sentenced to two weeks' imprisonment. Despite this sentence they were immediately taken back to their vessel and the vessel was steered out into open water. The men still refused to work. The vessel was then brought back to port and the men were arrested

on the charge of mutiny on the high seas! They are now out on bail, but if they are convicted they will have to serve sentences at least a year in length.

A number of the strike leaders, including Harry Holland, editor of the *Maori-land Worker*, are in jail on charges of sedition. Their sedition seems to have consisted in advising the men to resist the violence of the police.

The great Australian strike conference is one of the significant signs of the times. It met at Sidney from Nov. 29 to Dec. 2. Some 200,000 workers were represented. Resolutions were adopted calling on Australian unionists not to handle goods loaded by strike-breakers and demanding of the employers that they allow the matters under dispute to go to arbitration.

News has arrived that the strike has been settled; on what terms does not yet appear. But at any rate the New Zealand bubble has been burst. The labor paradise has been lost—if, indeed, it ever existed. It is a great pity, for a small army of magazine writers earned a good living telling American employers how the class-struggle had been legislated out of existence.

## A Plea for Solidarity

By EUGENE V. DEBS

"Solidarity—a word we owe to the French Communists and which signifies a community in gain and loss, in honor and dishonor, a being (so to speak) all in the same bottom—is so convenient that it will be in vain to struggle against its reception."—*Trench*.

TO the foregoing Webster adds the following definition: "An entire union, or consolidation of interests and responsibilities; fellowship."

The future of labor, the destiny of the working class, depends wholly upon its own solidarity. The extent to which this has been achieved or is lacking, determines the strength or weakness, the success or failure, of the labor movement.

Solidarity, however, is not a matter of sentiment, but of fact, cold and impassive as the granite foundation of a skyscraper. If the basic elements, identity of interest, clarity of vision, honesty of intent, and oneness of purpose, or any of these, is

lacking, all sentimental pleas for solidarity and all efforts to achieve it will be alike barren of results.

The identity of interest is inherent in the capitalist system and the machine process, but the remaining elements essential to solidarity have to be developed in the struggle necessary to achieve it, and it is this struggle in which our unions and parties have been torn asunder and ourselves divided and pitted against each other in factional warfare so bitter and relentless as to destroy all hope of solidarity if the driving forces of capitalism did not operate to make it ultimately inevitable. This struggle has waxed with

increasing bitterness and severity during the years since the I. W. W. came upon the scene to mark the advent of industrial unionism to supplant the failing craft unionism of a past age.

But there is reason to believe, as it appears to me, that, as it is "darkest just before the dawn," so the factional struggle for solidarity waxes fiercest just before its culmination. The storm of factional contention, in which diverse views and doctrines clashed and were subjected to the ordeal of fire, in which all the weapons of the revolution must be forged and tempered, has largely spent itself, and conditions which gave rise to these contentions have so changed, as was pointed out by the editor in the February REVIEW, that unity of the revolutionary forces now seems near at hand.

Industrial unionism is now, theoretically at least, universally conceded. Even Gompers himself now acknowledges himself an industrial unionist. The logic of industrial development has settled that question and the dissension it gave rise to is practically ended.

For the purpose of this writing the proletariat and the working class are synonymous terms. I know of no essential distinction between skilled and unskilled salary and wageworkers. They are all in the same economic class and in their aggregate constitute the proletariat or working class, and the hair-splitting attempts that are made to differentiate them in the class struggle give rise to endless lines of cleavage and are inimical if not fatal to solidarity.

Webster describes a *proletaire* as a "low person," "belonging to the commonalty; hence, mean, vile, vulgar." This is a sufficiently explicit definition of the *proletaire* by his bourgeois master, which at the same time defines his status in capitalist society, and it applies to the entire working and producing class; hence the *lower class*.

Such distinction between industrial workers as still persists the machine is reducing steadily to narrower circles and will eventually blot out entirely.

It is now about a century since a few of the skilled and more intelligent workers in the United States began to dimly perceive their identity of interest, and to band themselves together for their mu-

tual protection against the further encroachments of their employers and masters. From that time to this there has been continuous agitation among the workers, now open and pronounced and again under cover and in whispers, according to conditions and opportunities, but never has the ferment ceased and never can it cease until the whole mass has been raised to manhood's level by the leaven of solidarity.

The net result of an hundred years of agitation, education and unification, it must be confessed, is hardly calculated to inspire one with an excess of optimism and yet, to the keen observer, there is abundant cause for satisfaction with the past and for confidence in the future.

After a century of unceasing labors to organize the workers, about one in fourteen now belongs to a union. To put it in another way, fourteen out of every fifteen who are eligible to membership are still outside of the labor movement. At the same relative rate of growth it would require several centuries more to organize a majority of the working class in the United States.

But there are sound reasons for believing that a new era of labor unionism is dawning and that in the near future organized labor is to come more rapidly to fruition and expand to proportions and develop power which will compensate in full measure for the slow and painful progress of the past and for all its keen disappointments and disastrous failures; and chief of these reasons is the disintegration and impending fall of reactionary craft unionism and the rise and spread of the revolutionary industrial movement.

Never has the trade union of the past given adequate recognition to the vast army of common laborers, and in its narrow and selfish indifference to these unorganized masses it has weakened its own foundations, played into the hands of its enemies, and finally sealed its own doom.

The great mass of common, unskilled labor, steadily augmented by the machine process, is the granite foundation of the working class and of the whole social fabric, and to ignore or slight this proletarian mass, or fail to recognize its essentially fundamental character, is to build without a foundation and rear a



house of scantlings instead of a fortress of defense.

That the I. W. W. recognized this fundamental fact and directed its energies to the awakening and stimulation of the unskilled masses which had until then lain dormant, was the secret of its spread and power and likewise of the terror it inspired in the ruling class, and had it continued as it began, a revolutionary industrial union, recognizing the need of political as well as industrial action, instead of being hamstrung by its own leaders and converted, officially at least, into an anti-political machine, it would today be the most formidable labor organization in America, if not the world. But the time has not yet come, seemingly, for the organic change from craft segregation to industrial solidarity. There must needs be further industrial evolution and still greater economic pressure brought to bear upon the workers in the struggle with their masters, to force them to disregard the dividing lines of their craft unions and make common cause with their fellow-workers.

The inevitable split in the I. W. W. came and a bitter factional fight followed. The promising industrial organization was on the rocks. Industrial unionism, which had begun to spread in all directions, came almost to a halt. Fortunately about this time the mass strikes broke out, first in the steel and next in the textile industries. Thousands of unskilled and unorganized workers struck, and for a time both factions of the I. W. W. grew apace and waged the warfare against the mill bosses with an amazing display of power and resources. The important part taken by the Socialist party and its press and speakers in raising funds for the strikers, giving publicity to the issues involved, creating a healthy public sentiment, bringing their political power to bear in forcing a congressional investigation and backing up the I. W. W. and the strikers in every possible way, had much to do with the progress made and the success achieved during this period.

The victory at Lawrence, one of the most decisive and far-reaching ever won by organized workers, triumphantly demonstrated the power and invincibility of industrial unity backed by political solidarity. Without the co-operation and sup-

port of the Socialist Party the Lawrence victory would have been impossible, as would also that at Schenectady which followed some time later.

For reasons which came to light after the Lawrence strike, this solidarity was undermined to a considerable extent when the Paterson strike came, and still more so when the Akron strike of the rubber workers followed, both resulting disastrously to the strikers. Both of these strikes were fought with marvelous loyalty and endurance and could and should have been won.

Now again followed the inevitable. The ranks of the I. W. W. were depleted as suddenly as they had filled up. What is there now left of it at McKee's Rocks, at Lawrence, at Paterson, at Akron in the east; or at Goldfield, Spokane, and San Diego in the west?

Of course the experience is not lost and if only the workers are wise enough to profit by its lessons it will be worth all its terrible cost to its thousands of victims.

These important events have been rapidly sketched for the reason that just now I am more interested in the future than in the past. The conditions under which the I. W. W. was organized almost a decade ago and which soon afterward disrupted its forces and gave rise to the bitter factional feud and the threatening complications which followed, have undergone such changes that now, unless all the signs of today are misleading, there is a solid economic foundation for the merging of the hitherto conflicting elements into a great industrial organization.

The essential basis of such organization must, as I believe, be the same as it was when the I. W. W. was first launched, and to which the Detroit faction of that body still adheres. This faction is cornerstoned in the true principle of unionism in reference to political action.

In the past the political party of the workers has been disrupted because of disagreement about the labor union and the labor union has been disrupted because of disagreement about the political party. It is that rock upon which we have been wrecked in the past and must steer clear of in the future.

Like causes produce like results. Op-

ponents of political action split the I. W. W. and they will split any union that is not composed wholly of anti-political actionists or in which they are not in a hopeless minority. I say this in no hostile spirit. They are entitled to their opinion the same as the rest of us.

At bottom all anti-political actionists are to all intents anarchists, and anarchists and socialists have never yet pulled together and probably never will.

Now the industrial organization that ignores or rejects political action is as certain to fail as is the political party that ignores or rejects industrial action. Upon the mutually recognized unity and co-operation of the industrial and political powers of the working class will both the union and the party have to be built if real solidarity is to be achieved.

To deny the political equation is to fly in the face of past experience and invite a repetition of the disruption and disaster which have already wrecked the organized forces of industrialism.

The anti-political unionist and the anti-union Socialist are alike illogical in their reasoning and unscientific in their economics. The one harbors the illusion that the capitalist state can be destroyed and its police powers, court injunctions and gatling guns, in short its political institutions, put out of business by letting politics alone, and the other that the industries can be taken over and operated by the workers without being industrially organized and that the Socialist republic can be created by a majority of votes and by political action alone.

It is beyond question, I think, that an overwhelming majority of industrial unionists favor independent political action and that an overwhelming majority of Socialists favor industrial unionism. Now it seems quite clear to me that these forces can and should be united and brought together in harmonious and effective economic and political co-operation.

There is no essential difference between the Chicago and Detroit factions of the I. W. W. except that relating to political action and if I am right in believing that a majority of the rank and file of the Chicago faction favor political action, then there is no reason why this majority should not consolidate with the Detroit

faction and thus put an end to the division of these forces. This accomplished, a fresh start for industrial unionism would undoubtedly be made, and with competent organizers to go out into the field among the unorganized, the reunited I. W. W. would grow by leaps and bounds.

The rumblings of revolt in the A. F. of L. prove conclusively that the leaven of industrialism is also doing its work in the trade unions. The miners at their recent Indianapolis convention, in their scathing indictment of Gompers and his ossified "executive council," disclosed their true attitude toward the reactionary and impotent old federation. When Duncan MacDonald declared that Gompers and his official inner circle slaughtered every progressive measure and that the federation under their administration was reactionary to the core and boss-ridden and worse than useless, the indictment was confirmed by a roar of applause.

At the same convention Charles Moyer, president of the Western Federation of Miners, charged that if the strike of the copper miners in Michigan was lost the responsibility would rest upon Gompers and his "executive council." Gompers, notwithstanding this grave charge, left the convention without waiting to face Moyer. He had to catch a train. He remained long enough, however, to solemnly warn the delegates that the two-cent assessment asked for by the W. F. of M. to support the copper strikers would break up his powerful federation.

Almost eighteen years ago the W. F. of M. withdrew from the A. F. of L. in disgust because the financial support (?) it gave to the Leadville strikers did not amount to enough to cover the postage required to mail the appeal to the local unions. Today, when the W. F. of M. is again fighting for its life, the copper miners are told that a two-cent assessment to keep them and their families from starving would "bust" the Federation.

And this is the mighty American Federation of Labor, boasting a grand army of more than two million organized workers!

What has the A. F. of L., Gompers and his "executive council," done for the des-



perately struggling miners of Colorado and Michigan? Practically nothing.

Then why should the miners put up their scanty and hard-earned wages to support Gompers and the A. F. of L.?

The boasted power of this Civic Federationized, Militia of Christified body of reactionary craft union apostles of the Brotherhood of Capital and Labor turns to ashes always when the test comes, and a two-cent assessment, according to its national president, would kill it stone dead.

The United Mine Workers and the Western Federation of Miners, becoming more and more revolutionary in the desperate fight they are compelled to wage for their existence, are bound to merge soon into one great industrial organization, and the same forces that are driving them together will also drive them out of Gompers' federation of craft unions. There are other progressive unions in the A. F. of L. that will follow the secession of the miners and augment the forces of revolutionary unionism.

The consolidated miners and the reunited I. W. W. would draw to themselves all the trade unions with industrial tendencies, and thus would the reactionary federation of craft unions be transformed, from both within and without, into a revolutionary industrial organization.

On the political field there is no longer any valid reason why there should be more than one party. I believe that a majority of both the Socialist party and the Socialist Labor party would vote for consolidation, and I hope to see the initiative taken by the rank and file of both at an early day. The unification of the political forces would tend to clear the atmosphere and promote the unification of the forces on the industrial field.

This article is already longer than I intended, but before closing, I want to say that in my opinion, section six of article two ought to be stricken from the Socialist party's constitution. I have not changed my opinion in regard to sabotage,

but I am opposed to restricting free speech under any pretense whatsoever, and quite as decidedly opposed to our party seeking favor in bourgeois eyes by protesting that it does not countenance violence and is not a criminal organization.

I believe our party attitude toward sabotage is right, and this attitude is reflected in its propaganda and need not be enforced by constitutional penalties of expulsion. If there is anything in sabotage we should know it, and free discussion will bring it out; if there is nothing in it we need not fear it, and even if it is lawless and hurtful, we are not called upon to penalize it any more than we are theft or any other crime.

The conditions of today, the tendency and the outlook are all that the most ardent socialists and industrialists could desire, and if all who believe in a united party backed by a united union and a united union backed by a united party, will now put aside the prejudices created by past dissensions, sink all petty differences, strike hands in comradely concord, and get to work in real earnest, we shall soon have the foremost proletarian revolutionary movement in the world.

We need not only a new alignment and a better mutual understanding, but we need above all the real socialist spirit, which expresses itself in boundless enthusiasm, energetic action, and the courage to dare and do all things in the service of the cause. We need to *be* comrades in all the term implies and to help and cheer and strengthen one another in the daily struggle. If the "love of comrades" is but a barren ideality in the socialist movement, then there is no place for it in the heart of mankind.

I appeal to all socialist comrades and all industrial unionists to join in harmonizing the various elements of the revolutionary movement and in establishing the economic and political solidarity of the workers. If this be done a glorious new era will dawn for the working class in the United States.

# ALASKA AND ITS NATIVES

By Marion Wright

NO part of the world should afford more interest to those who believe in the ultimate and speedy coming of the Co-operative Commonwealth than Alaska, for it is here on virgin treasures, unspoiled by ravishing capitalists, that the Socialistic theories may find unhampered fields for development. Alaska is more than half as big as the United States, and is not nearly half so barren and frozen as it is popularly supposed to be. It contains forests enough to house the world for many years. Its coal and copper deposits are limited only by gigantic mountain ranges. Of its gold output nothing new can be said except that there is a new and rich "strike" every year. The waters of this wonderland already feed millions with their generous yield of salmon, cod and herring, and its seal rookeries furnish the magnificent coat for the boss' wife. The entire southwestern part of the territory is a good garden country for any kind of short season vegetable, and strawberries grow as far north as "63" as big as a *demi tasse*.

This empire, purchased in 1867 from Russia for \$7,200,000, was Uncle Sam's best buy, if we overlook the Louisiana Purchase.

Development, as far as it has gone in Alaska, has been of the usual capitalistic kind, except for the government experiment



NATIVE WOMAN OF ALASKA.

farms and stations and the telegraph lines, wireless stations and post roads which are managed by the army and navy. The fishing and canning industries and, of course, the mines are as hopelessly tied up, from a workingman's point of view, as they are in the states. And for the reason that living is so much higher than in the states, the wages paid to white laborers in Alaska for the past half dozen years are excellent reasons why the man who has nothing to sell but his labor should keep out of Alaska. When the masters get a man to where "he can't walk back," they usually have their own way with him, as many a discharged cannery hand or "railroad builder" on the docks of 'Frisco or Seattle will testify.

The types of Alaskan natives range from the pure-blood Esquimaux in the most northern part to a cross between the Esquimaux and Indian along the Aleutian





ALASKAN DOG TEAM.

islands and to a very nearly typical Indian in the southwestern section. The latter is very similar to the tribes of British Columbia, Oregon and Washington. The native population is roughly estimated at about 25,000, which number includes a great many mixtures in all degrees of Russian, Japanese and Anglo-Saxon blood. In some Alaskan towns there are no full-blood natives to be found. The typical inhabitant of the native quarter has a Mongolian face, framed by the black beard of a Russian, set on the squat, shapeless body of a Reservation Indian. Again in some villages situated near a cannery station or a part of call for shipping it is rare to see a child without a mixture of white blood. And it is claimed that this infusion of alien blood is all that preserves a vestige of the native race, for medical men have declared that it would be practically impossible to find an adult native of either sex without a taint of syphilis or consumption. The manner of living of the full-blood native renders him peculiarly susceptible to the ravages of both of these terrible diseases, and the inhabitants of entire villages have been known to succumb in one winter to tuberculosis.

In the comparatively mild climate of the southwestern part of Alaska the natives live

in shacks or small houses of wood or bark, often several families together. An addition of sod and skins renders these dwellings warmer through the Aleutian region, and in the most northern section the typical Esquimaux house of ice or stone is found. Formerly these people were well provided with food and clothing by hunting and fishing. They had excellent means of drying and preserving both fish and venison and oil from the seals furnished a kind of tinder and winter fuel. Warm furs were plentiful.

From a mighty race of hunters and fishers, the natives of Alaska degenerated with astonishing rapidity upon the advent of the white man. An entire village would no longer work months on a gigantic canoe, carved from the trunk of a single tree, and send its young men out to brave the dangers of the sea, or hunting parties would no longer risk life and limb battling the giant grizzlies, when food in plenty (temporarily) together with strong drink and gaudy clothes, could be obtained from the white strangers for no other effort than allowing them liberties with the women or exchanging furs and ivory. Instead of preserving their ancient industries and the purity of their blood, the Indians fell easily



ALASKA REINDEER HERD.

for the white man's tricks and readily assimilated his diseases. Less than three decades ago tales came down frequently from the great white North of whaling and sealing fleets sacking villages and towns of their furs and ivory and carrying off the young women.

The government at last took a strong stand against these atrocities. Revenue cutters were sent to patrol the coasts and the army was scattered over Alaska. But many tribes were found to be utterly helpless and demoralized. The men lacked both the physical strength and moral courage to battle with the harsh elements for a living as in earlier days. Whole tribes huddled in their huts, starving miserably and coughing their lives away. Once the government agents began in earnest, assisted by really well-meaning missionaries, a general improvement was made among the natives all along the coast. A sensible and systematic plan of dealing with their troubles, a watchful eye on the illicit rum seller, and free food for the starving gradually lifted the unfortunates from their slough of despair.

Especially among the coast tribes the typical Alaskan native of today would much prefer to pay 15 cents and take his salmon out of a tin than to lift it from the sea. A

broad-rimmed hat and Mackinaw coat made in Cincinnati is much more to his liking than the soft, warm, rich furs of his fathers. From a mighty hunter, he has fallen to an industrious curio-maker. Every visiting steamer is crowded by "curio" boats and her decks are overrun by squaws with an assortment of beaded moccasins, fancy baskets, beaten copper and silver bracelets and a variety of other trinkets, including the multi-colored miniature totem poles. Natives of the Far North make a specialty of ivory cribbage boards carved from walrus tusks. Hunting and trapping is carried on extensively by Indians of the interior and their valuable furs are sold at ridiculously low prices to white traders or are benevolently assimilated by brotherly missionaries. The Alaskan Indian is peaceful as a cow and has no fight in him. He has never given the authorities an uneasy moment by going on the warpath. In short, he is too dull to realize what "civilization" means to his class and accepts his troubles with stolid and stupid indifference.

The United States has been much more considerate of its Alaskan wards than of its "original Americans" in the states, due, no doubt, to the fact that no resentment has ever been aroused against the Alaskan In-



dian on account of hostile outbreaks. Within the past twenty years many experimental farms and stations have been established in the territory and every effort made to arrest the inroads already made on the native by the triple curse of the white man—whisky, syphilis and consumption. Of special interest and value was the introduction of the European reindeer into Alaska. But for this, thousands of natives would certainly have perished of famine.

The reindeer thrives from the Aleutian islands, northward. Despite the fact that it was the most useful animal known to man, the natives took little interest in the reindeer at first, and it was necessary to transport a band of Laplanders to care for the animals. So liberal were the terms offered by the government for the natives to adopt the reindeer that they were soon won over, and are now said to equal the Laplander in caring for the only animal that serves as horse, cow, sheep and goat combined. A certain number of reindeer are loaned, free of charge, from the government herd to a family, group or village and a trained attendant is furnished to offer expert advice on the care of the animals. The original reindeer remain the property of the government, but the increase belongs to the natives, and in this way each ambitious family may become the owner of a herd of valuable reindeer. The animals feed upon moss, lichens and leaves and there is no expense incident to their keep, other than careful herding. There are at present about sixty herds in Alaska, numbering some 60,000 animals, two-thirds of which belong to the natives.

In the southwestern section of Alaska, around Shakway, Juneau and Sitka, are found the Chilkats, Chilkoots, Stickene-Klooches, and other tribes of equally immaterial and unpronounceable names. They are really all the same, save that they belong to different families or totems. About the only tribal habits or customs of particular interest to the white man is the symbolic totem poles in every village and the annual "potlatch" of all the neighboring tribes, providing "times are not too hard." This potlatch, which takes place during the summer, is a common meeting of all the tribes within reach. The inhabitants of an entire village may be seen, including the dogs, embarking in their long

canoes with all their possessions to set out for the potlatch, perhaps a hundred miles away. These huge canoes, some near a hundred feet long, and known to be more than a century old, are propelled by paddle and small, three-cornered sails. Being expert in their handling, the natives sail them boldly into the open sea when necessary, although the thousands of islands which dot the Alaskan coast afford an inland passage for most any journey undertaken in a small craft.

At the potlatch place a great circle of huts and temporary dwellings are erected and the natives spend several weeks around their fires, story telling, trading, gambling, drinking and feasting, and when the "party" breaks up all return to their former homes.

Natives of the Yukon country are invaluable as guides and keepers of dog teams. The wolf-like "huskies" or "mama-lutes" which pull the heavy sledgeloads of supplies over the ice, and draw the United States mails are all native to the country and are more amenable to the care of an Indian, although a white man can get much more work out of them.

If properly conserved for their rightful owners, the great seal rookeries of Alaska, and especially of the Pribiloff islands, would have made the Indian tribes of Alaska wealthy. An Indian may kill fur seal along the coast without restrictions for his own use as clothing or food, but they have reached the stage where the game is not considered worth the candle. As white men are not permitted to buy the pelts, the Indian will not brave the dangers for the doubtful pleasure of wearing a sealskin coat. After all, the value of a sealskin is only relative—it is by no means real. A bearskin or dogskin coat would be as warm.

The Pribiloff islands consist of St. Paul and St. George, with numerous small rocks and islets, and lie about half way between the Aleutian islands and Cape Nome. They are low, flat and rocky, the only vegetation being a thick moss growing in crevices of the rocks. During the winter the wind blows with terrific velocity, the inhabitants often remaining indoors for weeks. The population consists of about 200 government employes housed in twenty dwellings.

The Pribiloffs are the greatest seal rookeries known and are the summer home of the fur seal. In May, the seals begin to ar-



KILLING FUR SEALS ON THE PRIBILOFF ISLANDS.

rive by the thousands. Every precaution is taken to protect them and only enough are slaughtered on the islands each year to meet the expenses of the station. Several revenue cutters patrol the waters about the islands constantly to prevent seal poachers from killing inside the three-mile limit. Like a pack of starving jackals half a hundred small schooners are ever hugging the "limit" watching a chance to dash inside during a sudden fog or squall and to make a "quick kill and a get-a-way." If a schooner is caught inside the limit, she is scuttled or sold at auction and her crew, be they Jap, Russian or American are sentenced to from one to ten years in the federal prison. But seal skins are very valuable and the seal pirates take long chances.

The first to arrive for the season are the bull seals. These prepare the rookeries and when the cows arrive they are seized upon by the bulls and most jealously guarded. A bull captures as many cows as he can safely protect and establishes a "harem" which is separated from others by well-understood lines. There is continual fighting among the bulls until all the weak and unfit are

killed or else yield their ambition to preside over a "harem." The females are said to outnumber the males about five to one but often some giant bull will gather as many as twenty cows under his jurisdiction and woe betide the smaller bull who ventures from the straight and narrow path and attempts to "wreck a home."

Day and night is made hideous around the Pribiloffs during sealing time by the bellowing of the animals. When the young are born they are taught to swim and fish. The baby seal is helpless until his education along these lines is complete.

Quite a complete chain of missions is maintained by different religious denominations throughout Alaska and many of these offer educational opportunities to the natives. However, it is largely the children of mixed blood who show aptitude along these lines and there is little cheerful prospect from any viewpoint for the full-blooded Alaskan native. Like the American Indian and the Hawaiian, he will be numbered among the extinct races by the time our great grandchildren are ready to read his history.



# An Appeal for Industrial Solidarity

By WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD

TOM MANN'S visit to the United States brought no encouragement to the great English agitator. Indeed, his article in the January INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW leads one to believe that our friend departed the shores of America down-hearted and discouraged as to existing conditions in the labor movement of this country, and its immediate future. He had many well defined reasons for developing such disturbed feelings.

In the first place, his tour was badly arranged. Not being under the direct auspices of any organization, he was practically thrown upon his own resources. Second, but of most vital importance, his idea of industrial unionism is in the formative period. His policies, program and principles are in some ways at variance with the ideas of the people that he hoped to reach. Syndicalism, anti-parliamentarianism and direct action sound like synonymous terms, or at least like correlative forces, and perhaps if regarded in their broadest theoretical sense, would be so accepted. But when Mann presents the theory of syndicalism and advocates syndicalism, trade unionism *per se* as an advanced idea, or even the federation of federations as a practical progressive step, he finds no audience among industrial unionists who have for years been preparing the ground for a new structure of society.

Syndicalism as proclaimed by Tom Mann can be discussed and advocated inside the unions of the A. F. of L. without disturbing the equanimity of its present policies. Indeed, syndicalism such as exists to a large extent in France could be adopted and put in operation by the A. F. of L. without materially upsetting its present organism or the influence, salary and autocracy of its officials, and absolutely without making any improvement in the condition of the working

class. Such changes, or rather lack of change, is not what the Industrial Workers of the World aspire to effect. Were Mann an out-and-out industrialist, carrying the message of industrial unionism to the working class, showing them how to organize, not on craft, trade, guild, amalgamated, syndicalist or federation lines, but on industrial lines, as they have been assembled by the employer on the job, without regard to craft, trade, or size or shape of tool with which they work, whether it be lathe or broom, in one big union, urging industrial class solidarity, rather than federation craft consciousness, Mann would then, like other industrial unionists, find no place in the councils of the A. F. of L. But certainly a warmer reception to such principles would have been extended by the Industrial Workers of the World. Let us emphasize that federation of federations is not industrial unionism, and further make plain, that syndicalism is not industrial unionism.

Following the preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World, comes the next vital principle of the organization, no contracts with the enemy.

The industrial movement is based on the class struggle, which will certainly admit of no contractual relations with the exploiters, such as are endorsed though not regarded sacred by the syndicalists (trade unionists) of France and trade unionists of England, to say nothing of the iron-clad agreements among the unions of this country, where organizations boast of a score of years of unbroken contracts (and continuous scabbing), like the Boot and Shoe Workers Union.

Mann's firm stand against parliamentary action put him out of mortise with the political socialists. Likewise, the officials of the A. F. of L. would scarcely endorse the policy of no politics, as the

chief function of that organization is, and has been, political. Their headquarters are in Washington, D. C., where their political activity is promulgated through a well-established lobby, a similar institution being maintained by the Railroad Brotherhoods.

As to Direct Action, there are few labor organizations, if any, outside the Socialist Party, where sabotage and direct action will not receive an earnest hearing when these weapons of industrial union activity are rationally presented. Most organizations of labor have long employed these measures, usually for craft gain rather than the general working class interest.

These preliminary remarks are not intended to convey the idea that any trade unionist, syndicalist, or socialist from a foreign land, who tours this country, would necessarily leave satisfied with the activity developed in any one of these schools of thought or movements. However, we fail to recall any prominent representative of labor from a foreign land who has endorsed the A. F. of L. Karl Liebknecht's strong opinions on this question are not forgotten. It will be remembered by some that Karl Legien, president of the German Union, who came here under the auspices of the A. F. of L. and the Socialist Party, devoted considerable of his time to discussing syndicalism in America, of which he thought the I. W. W. was the embodiment. He came to condemn and detract. But his parting conclusions were to the effect that there was a potent force in Industrial Unionism, and that it would grow. This reminds us that Herman Simpson, one of America's greatest Marxian scholars, has remarked that "The Industrial Workers of the World is an imperishable ideal."

Without any intention of criticising Tom Mann's résumé of the labor movement, particularly the I. W. W., it is well to inform him for the sake of others, that in the historical development of labor organizations in the United States, none has exceeded the despised numerical growth of the I. W. W. in the same number of years. Certainly no ideal, such as its Manifesto, Preamble and the thought of One Big Union, industrially organized, presents, has so thoroughly permeated

and inspired the working class of America.

In fact, it has fired the imagination and broadened the vision of the toiling masses in every land where civilization has extended itself. It reached Australia, even while that was the temporary home of Tom Mann, and probably it was while he was languishing in jail at Broken Hill, that he was first inspired and his heart beat faster with new hope for the working class through the organization as it was conceived in the original Manifesto that was scattered by millions throughout the land. Not only has the working class been aroused, but every phase of society has been compelled to recognize the fact that such an organization as the I. W. W., with the numbers to enforce its purpose, would compel a complete revolution of all systems of existing governments.

That it develops the best that there is in humanity, brings about class solidarity and a feeling of fellowship among the down-trodden and oppressed, unskilled and unorganized, is unquestionable. It has developed among the lowest strata of wage slaves in America a sense of their importance and capabilities such as never before existed. Assuming control and responsibility of their own affairs, the unorganized and unfortunate have been brought together, and have conducted some of the most unique strikes, fights for free speech and battles for constitutional rights, as could not be conceived in any other part of the world, because, here were involved all nationalities, races, creeds, colors and customs, united in an almost invulnerable massed force. Often would they have been invincible had it not been for the scabbing of the highly-skilled, well-organized, better educated elements of the working class.

It is this attitude of the A. F. of L. that has been a potential force used against the submerged mass. Capitalism has used this force to keep the millions of unskilled and unorganized down to the lowest standard of living. There has been a pernicious spirit of patriotism cultivated among these American workmen, by which they have consciously been taught to despise the foreigner from all countries, and fight him.

The unions have been inoculated with



this spirit, which has made it difficult for strangers coming to America to enjoy what is often a necessity of life to the working man, namely, membership in a labor organization.

Mann says, "If the fine energy exhibited by the I. W. W. were put into the A. F. of L., or into the existing trade union movement, to hasten the day when Solidarity shall be shown, all my experience says that the results would be fifty-fold greater than they are now."

It might as well be said that if the fine energy exhibited by the I. W. W. were put into the Catholic church, that the results would be the establishment of the control of industry. This comparison is not as far-fetched as it might seem, as reports of the last convention of the A. F. of L., held at Seattle, will show.

Father Dietz of the Militia of Christ, which is an organization within the A. F. of L., a wheel within a wheel as it were, attended the convention and used all his power as an emissary of the church to prevent political or industrial solidarity. On one occasion he is said to have exclaimed in an angry voice:

"If you try anything that will tend to aid socialism, the Catholic Church will be compelled to disown the A. F. of L. and begin organizing Catholic Unions." It is strongly implied here that the A. F. of L. is now controlled by the Catholic Church.

But seriously, I want to say that Fellow Worker Mann has not "adequately weighed up the forces" that prevent the possibility of the I. W. W. serving as "a feeder and purifier of the big movement."

One might present as argument the statement of Duncan MacDonald, president of Illinois U. M. W. A. He says, "The A. F. of L. is fossilized, worm-eaten and dead."

To which he could have added, "church-ridden, and whether dead or alive, an auxiliary of the capitalist system, at present the political tail of the Democratic party."

But all these objections might be overruled. It may even be contended that the virility of the I. W. W. could breathe into the A. F. of L. a new life, and by a "holy crusade," drive out religious in-

fluence by attending strictly to economic principles. Such a course might be worth while if there were not real obstacles which prevent the working class from becoming members of the A. F. of L. These barriers have been raised by the trade unions and are insurmountable. Some have been mentioned, and here are others:

For example: initiation fees in some unions range from \$25, \$75, \$125, \$250, \$300—and even as high as \$500. It will be admitted that such fees are prohibitive, especially to the foreign immigrant with scarcely enough funds to show the entrance fee required by the government.

These exorbitant fees are not intended as inducements for new members, but for protection against increase of membership and against competition of labor. As, where the trade unions are strongest, no person can work without a union card. Being denied admission to the union, they are deprived of the right to earn a living.

A vicious system of apprenticeship is in vogue, which in many cases denies the privilege of learning a trade with official sanction, except to a favored few.

Technical examinations are sometimes resorted to, and when these are not sufficient to debar the willing applicant, books of some unions are deliberately closed against further membership.

To this add the restrictions and discrimination against women, and the absolute refusal of some unions to accept colored persons as members, although we have millions of the black race unorganized, who are competitors in the labor market.

The A. F. of L. extends no relief, offers no hope, gives no comfort to the submerged millions of unskilled wage slaves.

To these, the oppressed and down-trodden, the Industrial Workers of the World makes its appeal, fully realizing that within this mass of despised humanity there is a latent force, which if exerted by themselves, will arouse their consciousness, their love of liberty, will strengthen their bended backs, and lift their faces toward the sunlight of a new life of industrial freedom.

# THE CONTROL OF CHILD BEARING

By Caroline Nelson

MY article in the October REVIEW on "Neo-Malthusianism" has evidently been misunderstood, judging from letters that I have received.

A student from a university writes and tells me that he agrees with me and that he has found out from the medical profession about some preventive drugs. I wish to say that I do not want to be responsible for anybody losing their health and making fools of themselves. Neo-Malthusianism has nothing to do with drugs or abortion. Knut Wicksell, who has plowed the ground for the movement in Sweden, is a university professor, though he has always stood by the revolutionary proletariat, in opposition to his co-worker on the same line, Anton Nystrom, who is a state socialist of the reformistic type.

The preventive means are so simple that I could state them in one sentence, but the tyranny of the U. S. post office authorities silences me. In Europe books circulate openly that give the information, at least here in Denmark. In Sweden and France, where the work of the Neo-Malthusianists has been felt in the factories in the short supply of child slaves, laws have been instituted to prevent public information on that point. But in both Berlin and Paris the drug stores display the preventive means in their show windows, among other rubber contrivances. There is certainly no secret about it in that case. Nevertheless, the International Society for Humanitarian Child Bearing, in Stockholm, in a big, black-bordered space, on the outside of their paper, *Ny Moral*, tells the workers in cities and the country to apply to them, in confidence, for help. And the help has been so effective that a couple of months ago the capitalist press gave a yell of despair over the lowered birth rate.

As Neo-Malthusianists, we cannot go in the working class homes with the absurd proposition that man and wife must each have their own room, and only come together sexually when they want a child. We must do the next best thing, and that is to acquaint them with a harmless preventive means so that their burdens shall not increase and be laid at innocent lives.

As for the young, the Neo-Malthusianists aim to give them education on sex matters, and by right education help them over the dangerous period, where passion is apt to take possession of the reasoning power, chiefly on account of the secrecy and hypocrisy and general absurdity that our civilization throws around sex life.

To be a revolutionist doesn't simply mean to go and vote the Socialist ticket, or call for one big union; but it means make use of every means that we can lay our hands on to strengthen and inform the workers on all subjects that can help them in their daily, economic struggle. As fast as the workers become informed, so fast will the chains that bind them drop to pieces. The capitalist class have both the leisure and means to gather all the information that strengthens them and weakens the workers.

The workers on the different continents have yet a poor interchange of ideas. To a great extent they know nothing about their own literature and the culture that a small minority is in possession of. This holds particularly good when it comes to sex matter and the control of child bearing.

It is a pleasure to go through Paris in the poor quarters, compared to New York and London. In the first place, one sees comparatively well cared for children, and not very many of them, while in the two latter the crowds of half-starved, ragged, miserable children sicken the heart of everyone. He feels despair and hopelessness, for he knows they will be turned to advantage for the capitalists. Berlin and Stockholm also present a much better child condition in the poor quarters than one would expect. The French working class is evidently raising a superior class, both physically and intellectually, than they are themselves. One can easily see that as he watches the workers' little ones play in the numerous squares. These squares in Paris are not barred to the poor children like they are in the poor districts in East London, where there are signs at the entrances forbidding ragged and lousy individuals to enter.

If a man should raise pigs or cats or dogs



to starve and suffer, the society for the prevention of cruelty to animals would soon interfere, but the parents that raise children to suffer and starve get the blessings of the church, and keep the society woman, who uses preventive means herself, busy playing the angel of mercy. It also gives occupations to left-over upper-class women to start the numerous charity institutes—homes for children—where stupidities and hypocrisies are carefully drummed into the heads of the unfortunates to make them good slaves. And these good slaves go out in the work thinking of nothing but how to ape the fine ladies that constantly waltz before them, and they become scabs and fools.

"Think before you set life in the world!" is the Neo-Malthusian motto. And thinking people do not ruin themselves in debauchery, or with poisonous drugs, or use any other doubtful methods. But in this case, as in all other cases, a small minority will have to dig and toil to bring the right information to the majority.

That is not very easy. Women have been sex slaves for centuries. Many believe the number of children that they shall bear (in the married state) is something regulated by God. A woman gravely told me that the other day. In London's poor district, where those miserable, poor workers have families of from five to a dozen, I told a charity nurse what I thought about it, and I began to give her a piece of my mind one day for not informing the workers of the preventive means. She said:

"My dear, I cannot get the women to

listen to me. They think that it is a sin against God."

Many Socialist families are just as ignorant, and bring up their children just as ignorantly. Many others have learned of preventive means and refuse to inform others, while they laugh at the woman who is always a "sight," and the man that takes refuge in the cheap ale-house to escape the misery at home of squalling children and a scolding mother.

This must stop, comrades! Out in the light of the day, humanitarian child bearing must be fostered! Children must have a right to be born healthy and under proper conditions, *or they shall not be born at all*. Every woman who feels the mother instinct in her heart must plant her foot squarely on that proposition.

There are thousands of men and women in America who are anxious to help the working class, and sometimes do it badly because they are not sure just what to do. They sit down to evolve all sorts of vague and confusing theories. Here, at least, the matter is plain. Form societies to help the workers raise few and healthy, intelligent children, just as they are doing here in Europe.

This is not so very new. In the late 80's Mrs. Annie Besant published a book in London on how to prevent conception. Mrs. Besant was one of the most brilliant women in England. She was rewarded for her trouble by being called a "she-devil." Some years later Annie got religion, promptly recalled her book, and as promptly became respectable.

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## 'BONES'

"CAPTAIN" GEORGE GATES, the well-known rebel who, during the first revolt in Mexico, confiscated an engine shaft and, though deep in the *bosque*, contrived to metamorphose it into a "Long Tom" for Madero, tells the following story:

"Once upon a time a man and his dog were lost in a far deep desert. They were without food. The dog was a good and *useful* animal and had always been a good pal. Consequently, though the man was consumed with a gnawing hunger, he did not want to kill the dog. Finally, he hit upon the scheme of cutting off the dog's tail—a large juicy one—and using it for food. Curtailment duly followed this economic discovery, and the tail was cooked and eaten. It was in this manner the man's life was saved. When he had picked the bones quite clean of their rich nutriment, he fed them to the dog, and thus saved its life, and——"

Well," questioned George's listeners.

"Well, those bones—their's *wages*!"—FRANK PEASE.

# A MILLION DOLLAR DONATION FOR SOCIALIST EDUCATION



ERNEST SOLVAY

**T**HERE can be no doubt that the gift of a million dollars made by Ernest Solvay, Belgium's foremost capitalist, to the Socialist party of that country for educational purposes, will receive an undue interpretation both inside and outside the Socialist camp.

Therefore a few details concerning the gift, the giver and the circumstances which surrounded the giving may be welcome to the readers of *THE REVIEW*.

Ernest Solvay is the inventor, together with his brother, Alfred, of the process now used all over the world in the manufacture of bicarbonate of soda. The Solvay process superseded the old French process invented by Nicholas Leblanc in 1812 and under which soda was manufactured by treating sea water with sulphuric acid. The Solvay process is in use all over the world. The Solvay Company owns plants in every European country and also in the United States; at Syracuse, N. Y., Detroit, etc.

The Solvay brothers were poor farmer boys and had an uphill fight to work their invention commercially and to protect it against the rapacity of the financiers on whom they had to call for funds. Unlike many an inventor, they succeeded in retaining for themselves most of the value created

by their discovery. It has been estimated that the saving annually caused by the Solvay process to the world at large is very close to fifteen million dollars.

Ernest Solvay has remained until today an inventor, a prospector in new fields of scientific discovery. This fundamental trait of his mentality prevented him from following the usual path of the successful manufacturer, which leads from active and technical participation in the processes of machine production to mere financial promoting. He has remained during his whole career an inventor.

A day came when he carried his inventive ability into the field of social investigation. He then evolved a system known as "social comptabilism," or social bookkeeping. It was largely based upon a criticism of the use of precious metals as mediums of exchange, and proposed to substitute therefor a system of bookkeeping to be carried on by the state, under which every citizen would make and receive payment by exchanging checks with other citizens, such checks to be recorded under the uniform system of bookkeeping carried on by the state.

The main advantage of such a system would, according to its author, have con-



sisted in the fact that at all times the state could determine the exact financial standing of every citizen. This was to be used as the foundation of a system of taxation of inheritances, based not on the fiscal necessities of the state, but on the theory that the state was the concrete embodiment of society and that, since no business was possible without the co-operation of society, society was a silent partner of every business man and was entitled to consideration as such in the reorganization of the partnership which was made necessary by the death of one of the partners.

All the inheritance taxes mentioned above were to be collected not in cash or the equivalent thereof, but in kind, i. e., in their form of active and existing interest, in all kinds of business enterprises. The state would thus cease to be a silent partner to become a real partner, and gradually all production and distribution would be concentrated into the hands of the state.

To bring about the realization of this scheme, its author created the Institute of Sociology. He wished to supply three scientists with an annual salary that would allow them to give the largest part of their time to the general study of economic and social facts and their bearing upon the practicability of the system which he had evolved. He stated that in no way did he intend to interfere with the conclusions they would reach, even if they were not favorable to his scheme. The three economists were chosen for this task solely on account of their value as scientists. They were all Socialists. Two of them, the late Professor H. Denis and Emile Van Dervelde, were Socialist members of the Belgian parliament. The third one, the sociologist, De Greef, was the president of the Belgian Socialist University. The social scheme of the founder of the institution was soon lost sight of, but some very valuable research work along economic lines was turned out.

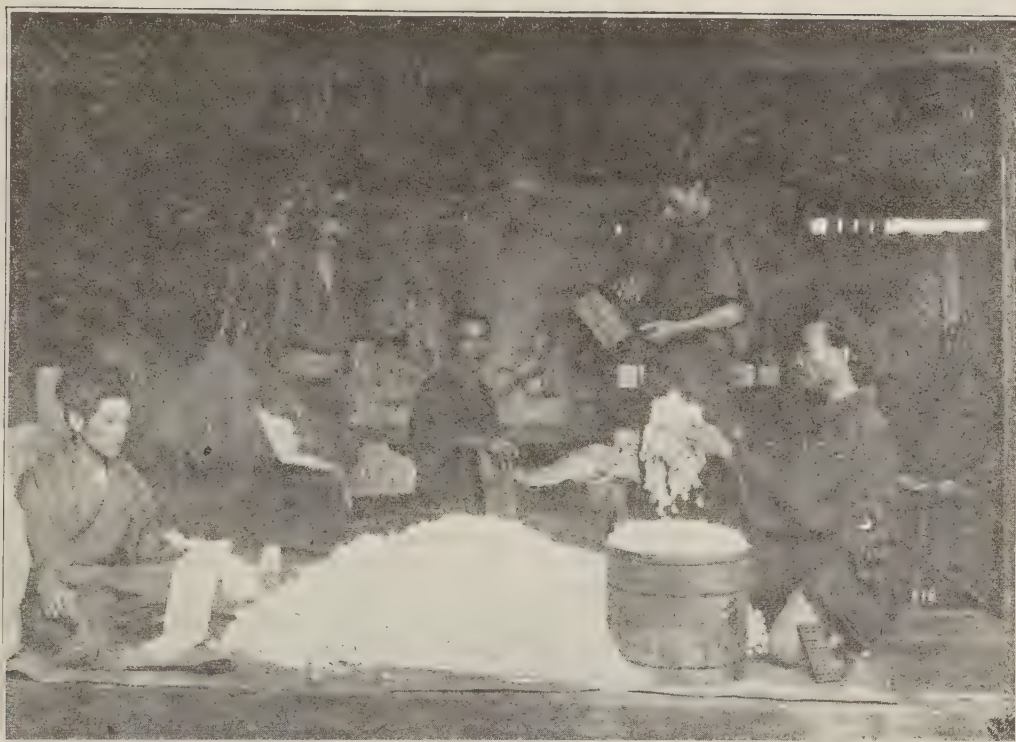
From this incident dates the interest of Ernest Solvay in the educational work of the Socialist movement. A few years ago our Belgian comrades organized their educational work on systematic lines, centralizing it and putting a national director in charge with several teachers and clerical assistants. The system includes, besides sev-

eral resident schools, an extension department and a correspondence school. Its purpose is to give the workers an education along economic and sociological lines adapted to their degree of intellectual development, a condition which the party university, based on the possession by its pupils of a high-school education, failed to meet.

At that period of its development, the educational department was urgently in need of a building. The accommodations of the People's Palace had all been taken up by the unions and the offices of the co-operative institutions affiliated with the party. On being told of the party's needs, Mr. Solvay donated the building.

(Of course, he has in due time, like every capitalist who wants to live up to the traditions of his caste, played the part of a Mécenas to various educational institutions, especially those located near the most important of his plants, which largely provided him with his technical employees. Last summer, while celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of his main discovery, he made some very liberal donations to the universities of Brussels, Paris and Nancy. He announced on this occasion that he would later amply provide for a system of education adapted to the intellectual advancement of the working classes and for their scientific and economic education. A careful investigation satisfied him that the educational department of the Socialist party could not be improved upon as far as system and efficiency were concerned, and a few weeks ago real estate to the value of a million dollars was transferred to the party, the income to be used for the furtherance of the work of its educational department.

In marked contrast with many capitalists, Mr. Solvay does not want the news of his liberalities widely heralded abroad, but when it comes to a showdown, he never hesitates to state what he did and why he did it. From the particulars given above it will become evident that the giver knew what vehicle he was choosing to realize his purpose and also that in accepting the liberalities of the foremost capitalist of their country, our comrades across the Atlantic have not compromised any of their Socialist principles.



SELLING COCOONS.

## MAKING SILK

By Ewald Koettgen

**T**HE silk industry was considered, at one time, a luxury producer only. Through the tremendous development in recent years it has been possible to use silk in the manufacture of so great a variety of articles that we can hardly consider it an industry of luxuries today.

The process through which silk passes before it is put on the market is very interesting, and the thousands of people who handle silk fabric have not the faintest idea how it is produced. Raw silk is raised chiefly in Japan, China, Turkey, Italy and Syria. The best qualities used in the United States come from Japan. Silk worms are raised systematically in large numbers. They have the appearance of caterpillars and are a voracious

crowd. They gorge themselves on the leaves of the mulberry trees during their short lives. When they become cocoons they are from one to two inches in length and are white in color. In Turkey some reach the length of three inches. The cocoons are covered with tiny silk threads, and after they have been gathered they are sorted out according to their value. If they have developed too far towards the butterfly stage the silk is spoiled and these are used as stock for the next crop.

After sorting the cocoons they are subjected to an intense heat in order to kill the larva inside of them. With the aid of hot water the frail, thin threads are unraveled from the cocoons and wound into skeins. The silk in this state is full



of gum from the cocoons and when next it goes into throwing plants, the skeins have to be soaked in hot water over night before they can be handled. The large amount of gum stiffens the silk when it is dry.

The silk thread is then wound upon bobbins and the rooms where this is done are always full of steam to prevent the silk from becoming dry and stiff. Next the thread goes to the doublers, where two or three of the tiny threads are twisted into one in order to make them strong enough to be woven into cloth. The cheaper and plain color grades of silks are woven from the raw silk and the pieces are dyed after they are woven, but the better grades and mixed color are woven from silk that has been dyed in the thread.

When the silk is to be dyed in the thread it goes to the dye-houses after it has been doubled and there is where the adulteration occurs. Of this more will be said later. From the dye-houses it goes into the silk mill and the winders wind it again from the skeins onto bob-

bins. Then the warpers make the warps from the bobbins and the weavers weave the warps into cloth.

Machines have been introduced into all branches of the industry and have displaced the old form of hand production. When the silk industry was in its primitive form it was carried on in the homes of the workers. The hand loom weavers of thirty or more years ago were their own masters. They owned their own looms and were highly skilled mechanics. The work was hard and other members of the family had to assist in the labor. The weavers of old were compelled to do all the preliminary work. They had to make the warp, enter it through the harness and reed. If it happened to be jacquard work they had to build their own harness and cut the cards for the machine. The wife or children of the silk weaver had to do the quill-winding, when he did not do it himself. The motive power was supplied by the hands and feet of the weaver.

It required great physical exertion to turn a ribbon loom for ten or twelve hours



REELING RAW SILK FROM COCOONS.

and the wife of a ribbon weaver was often obliged to help turn it in order to make it possible for the weaver to endure.

While the old hand-loom weaver was his own master and comparatively free, the whole family had to work very hard and produced comparatively few yards of silk per day. The silk had to be of very good quality to stand the strain of the hand loom. It was unadulterated and was dyed in the standard colors only. A piece of silk cloth woven on the hand loom would not fall to pieces in a few months like the silk of today. It would last for many years.

When the hand-loom weaver was forced from the home and the hand-loom into the mill and became the power-loom the labor dividing process began at once. The weaver did nothing but weave at the loom. Other workers did the winding, the warping, the quill winding, the entering of warps through the harness and reed, while others twisted on the warps, or built the harness, cut the cards or fixed the looms, and so on.

After a while the weavers were given two looms to operate instead of one. Then the looms were made large enough to hold cloth of a double width, and today we find weavers operating four looms, and in some cases six. The greed of the silk mill owners has turned all the inventions and improvements in machinery to the benefit of themselves. To give an idea of what has taken place I might cite an example of a personal experience.

Fifteen years ago the writer was operating two looms, each loom containing 18 inches of cloth (a hand loom weaver operated only one loom of this kind), 60 reed, 3 threads in a dent, 90 picks to an inch, taffate weave, and was paid 10 cents per yard. Now a weaver is compelled to run four looms, 36 inches of cloth in each loom, 60 reed, 2 ends in a dent, 64 picks to an inch, and are paid  $2\frac{1}{2}$  cents per yard. Six years ago messaline jobs were paid as follows: A weaver would run two looms, goods 36 inches wide, 64 reed, 3 threads, 5 shafts, 104 picks per inch,  $11\frac{1}{2}$  cents per yard. Now a weaver operates four looms on the same kind of work and receives 5 cents per yard. At two looms a weaver could make 15

yards per loom per day, or 30 yards per day on two looms. This makes \$3.45 for 30 yards. On 4 looms a weaver can make about 12 yards per loom per day, or 48 yards per day. Forty-eight yards at 5 cents per yard makes \$2.40. In other words, a weaver produces 18 yards more per day and is paid \$1.05 less than before. It must be taken into consideration that there is no improvement on the looms. They are exactly the same as they were when they were running two instead of four.

The ribbon weavers have fared just as bad. The weaver of 1913 produced more than three times as much ribbon and was paid less than in 1894.

The 25 foot double deck ribbon loom is common today, while in 1894 the looms were half as long and single deck, or circular batton, as the weavers call them. It must be taken into consideration that the silk furnished is not as good as the silk supplied the hand loom weaver or the early power loom weaver. The mill owners, seeking always larger and larger profits, have resorted to adulteration of silk and are "sabotaging" the silk-buying public just as much as the woolen manufacturers who sell goods for "all wool" which is half shoddy.

### Tin Silk.

The adulteration of the silk is done in the dyeing process, and is known as weighting. In order to make the readers understand the reasons for the weighting of silk it is necessary to explain. A piece of thin flimsy silk cloth contains not many threads of silk. If a heavier and more substantial piece of cloth is desired more silk threads must be used in its manufacture. The thinner the individual silk thread is, the more threads are required to make a substantial piece of silk cloth. Mixing other non-silk threads with the silk is an ordinary trick of the trade. Cotton threads are often mixed with the silk and woven into the cloth. But cotton will not deceive nor be concealed and the buyers want silk only. To thicken the individual silk thread and use less silk threads in a piece of cloth is the problem.

To swell the threads, the raw silk is put through a process known as dynamit-



ing. In this process the silk is put through a solution of tin, red iron and muriatic acid. This solution, in conjunction with the dye, sticks to the silk and makes the individual silk threads thicker. Less threads are required to make a substantial looking piece of cloth. But the acid soon eats its way into the delicate silk fibre and makes the cloth woven from such silk rot in a short time. To give the reader an idea to what extent this weighting of silk is carried on I will quote from the price list of one of the largest silk dyeing concerns in the country, the Weidman Silk Dyeing Company, located at Paterson, N. J.

In colors:

Tin weighted, brights and souples,  
one pound of raw silk is weighted  
up to 32 ounces.

Tin weighted twist to 38 ounces.

Umbrella dyes, brights and souples  
to 30 ounces.

Tailoring and hat-band dyes to 24  
ounces.

In blacks:

Brights are weighted up to 44 ounces.

Spun and schappe to 40 ounces.

Spun and silk twist to 50 ounces.

Souple to 60 ounces.

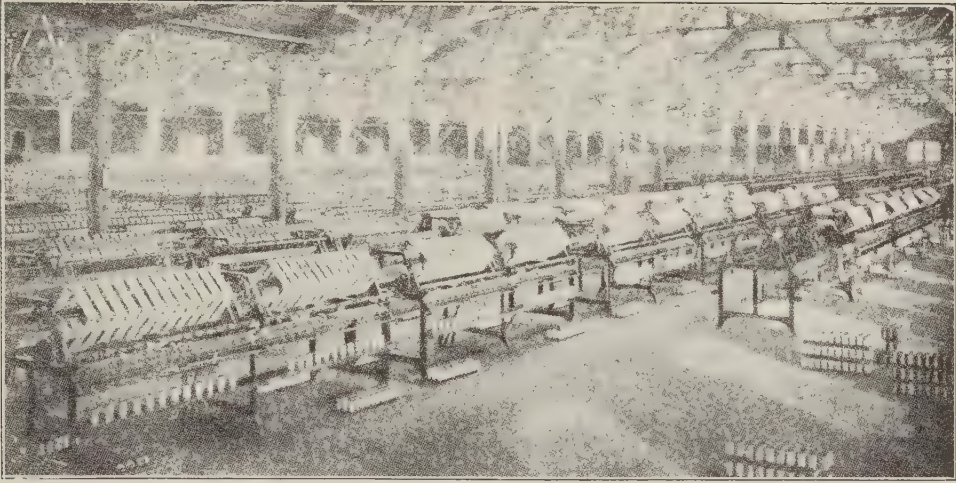
It should be stated here that the raw silk is put through a process known as stripping before it is dyed or weighted. This is done in order to remove the gum from the silk, and every pound of silk loses from 2 to 4 ounces in weight. So that when a pound is weighted up to 60 ounces there is only 12 ounces of real silk. When the "dear public" buys 60 ounces of the last named kind of "silk" they buy in reality 48 ounces of old tin and iron. No sabotage there! Those who do piece work, when using this kind of adulterated silk, must work so much harder, because the acid rots the silk and the threads break continually.

Inventions on looms are often nullified by adulterated silk. For instance: There is a contrivance in brood silk looms which will stop the loom automatically when the thread breaks. This would be an advantage to the weaver, but is not generally used because it requires good silk. The rotten filling furnished the weavers will not stand sufficient tension to operate the stopping apparatus,

and in consequence the weavers are compelled to run box-ooms with from 2 to 7 shuttles with as many different colors of filling without this stopping apparatus, and what this means only a weaver can understand who has tried it.

The production of silk was at one time a man's industry, but it is rapidly becoming an industry of women and children. The number of women and children employed in the silk mills at the present time is at least 80 per cent. In the hard-silk plants women and children are employed exclusively. All the winding, quill-winding, blocking and picking is done by women and children. Most of the warping, three-fourths of the weaving, is also done by women, and now women are entering the dyehouses. Dyeing is the most unsanitary work in the mills. The rooms are constantly filled with steam and the floors are covered with water. The dyers are compelled to work with their hands in strong acids, and must wear wooden shoes weighing about 5 pounds each in order to keep their feet dry. They are subject to rheumatism and colds. The children receive as low as \$2.50 a week in the hard-silk, or throwing plants. The quill-winders, winders, blockers and pickers average about \$4.50 or \$5.00 per week.

The "labor laws" on the statute books of the various states are dead letters as far as the workers are concerned. Whenever Mr. Boss has plenty of orders they work overtime. Women and children often work twelve hours or more. In some cases a night shift is put on and it works twelve hours per night. The factory inspector usually gets no further than the office. It is useless to appeal to him. The state of New Jersey has a 55-hour labor law. According to this law neither women nor minors shall be employed in any mill or factory in the state for more than 55 hours per week. Some time ago a mill in Paterson, N. J., was working 70 hours per week. This mill employed women and minors only. The factory inspector was notified that this mill was violating the law. After "investigating" a couple of weeks he replied: That by "mutual agreement" between employers and employees the law permits the latter to work more than 55



HARD SILK PLANT.

hours per week. The mutual agreement consisted in the boss putting up the notice that the mill would run overtime until further notice. The workers, being unorganized, had to quit their jobs as individuals or work 70 hours. To work meant that they acquiesced in this "mutual agreement." And still we are told that we need more "labor laws."

The teaching of the I. W. W. that the laws of the mills and factories are made either in the office of the boss or in the hall of the union has taken strong root among thousands of silk workers. Since the big silk workers' strike of last summer the silk workers have come to realize that the old form of craft unionism of the American Federation of Labor with their divisions and their lobbying committees in the legislatures can never benefit the working class. They realize that all workers engaged in a silk mill should belong to the same union, from the engi-

neer and fireman down to the boy who sweeps the floor; that all the workers from all the silk mills in any locality should belong to the same local union under the same charter, and that the workers working in the mills must make the laws for the mills where they work and enforce them themselves, on the job. It is the mission of the revolutionary industrial organization, the Industrial Workers of the World, to drill the workers to control all conditions of labor in factory and mill as well as all products of labor. The workers must have complete control over industry. When this has been accomplished in the most important industries, the workers, through their economic organization, will be able to operate the industries for their own benefit, abolish the wages system, and establish the Democracy of Labor. The industrial union will take the place of the capitalist state.





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# STUDY COURSE IN SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM

## LESSON IV

### The Materialist Conception of History

By J. E. Sinclair

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**T**HE materialist conception of history is the fighting philosophy of the working class. Not only does it solve the hitherto inextricable riddles of history and furnish us an insight into individual conduct, but it removes from the minds of the workers the illusions that have obscured their vision through long centuries of oppression. It reveals the material basis of life and lays bare "the economic law of motion of modern society." In the study of the materialistic conception we have seen (in our last lesson) how science furnishes the groundwork of facts for clear reasoning. We saw how its conquests had cleared the way for the REVOLUTION.

We have seen how man, struggling upward from the protozoön, became in time a tool-making animal and how human progress since then has been largely the result of technical progress, the discovery of new productive processes and the invention of new tools for the making of things useful to man. Just as we mark the successive geological ages by the successive layers of sedimentary rock so do we measure human progress above the mere animal plane by successive inventions and discoveries that usher in new institutions, new relationships, and profoundly affect the human outlook.

When the development of technic had reached the stage where each worker could produce more than was necessary to keep him in working trim and to raise successors to take his place, man became to a great degree master of nature. The old struggle for existence assumed a new guise. It became a struggle for the surplus.

The technical development that human

experience and human labor had brought about had enabled our ancestors to overcome the cave bear and the saber-toothed tiger and to master the food getting process so that there was an abundance. But the very inventive genius that had enabled them to overcome the beasts of the wild and to harness nature to do their bidding had created within their own species new monsters that preyed and still prey not alone upon other species but upon their brothers and kinsmen. The old blood ties that bound the primitive gens into a simple communism were shattered by this new economic force, this surplus-product of human labor-power. For the first time in human story there fell athwart the pathway of human progress the somber shadow of a slave, who was a slave not because he was a social misfit but because he had within him capacities that enabled him to produce a surplus upon which an idler might feed and over which he might dream of an eternity of ease.

On one side we have seen there came into being a master class, and on the other side a slave class held in bondage by the organized brute force of the masters, the state. This state protected and reflected the economic power of the masters. In order that it might do this efficiently it had to become itself an economic power holding property, collecting taxes, directing armies of conquest and subjugation. The old saber-toothed tiger had been vanquished, but the very process of his vanquishment had produced a new and more destructive creature, the saber-carrying man.

And it was all because of this surplus-product that labor was piling up day by

day. This surplus was a small thing at first, and yet around it and over it there began the long series of class struggles that have moved the world ever since. Let those who have preached that human nature is the same in all ages, that it never changes, contemplate the simple, childlike kindness that existed before the great social and economic changes caused by this growing surplus and compare it with what followed when the world became an armed camp, when brother was turned against brother, and even children were converted into slaves by their fathers that the surplus might grow yet greater. A world of free men was changed by a new set of industrial relations into a world of slaves ruled by a set of butchers. There had been war between groups before, between groups of strangers; but now with the creation of this surplus there began a war within the group in which the old blood ties of relationship had been severed and mangled by the transforming power of the new economy.

Such was the bloody dawn of civilization. No one was to blame. There was no plot to wreck the ancient democratic organization and thus sweep away the ancient freedom. Material conditions brought about by new industrial methods had been the silent, compelling force. Instead of a serpent with the tongue of a politician it was the accumulating surplus-product that tempted primitive man and he fell.

Yet after all was it a fall? When one contemplates the oceans of blood that have been shed and the fearful sufferings of the working class since the dawn of civilization every tender sentiment rebels against the monstrosity of it all. But the comparatively brief five or six thousand years that have elapsed since the beginning of slavery is but a moment in the life history of the race. It has been truly a terrible moment, the moment of maternal misery that preceeds the birth of a newer and wider freedom than was ever possible in the unmeasured centuries of gentile freedom that hallows the childhood memories of the race.

But whether for good or bad the tremendous social transformation that succeeded the beginning of slavery was

brought about by underlying economic forces that to the actors on the human stage at that time were enveloped in a fantastic ideology sanctioned and sanctified by gods innumerable.

In other lessons we have seen the operation of these economic forces and have gained some conception of their marvelous operation in human affairs. The only danger is that the student may in his enthusiasm exaggerate the operation of this sociological law and thus make it appear ridiculous in the eyes of his shop-mates. It must be remembered that the materialist conception of history takes into consideration the fact that human life and human society is a process and that influences are still felt in our lives that had their origin before economic relations, as we know them, existed. It takes into consideration the animal origin of man and traces to that animal origin some of the most cherished virtues of the human family. It takes into consideration the fact that illusions have played a part in history, but it traces the perpetuation of most of these illusions to the economic necessity of some class. It recognizes the fact that moral tenets, ideas, and even institutions, while they are the off-spring of social relationships at some time or another, may perpetuate themselves in time far beyond the duration of the social conditions that gave them birth. It takes into consideration the geographical and historical conditions as well as the technical and economic relations that shape with irresistible force the birth of each succeeding social epoch in history and that is even now shaping a new society within the womb of an old and decrepit one.

Kautsky, in his book on "Ethics and the Materialist Conception of History," says: "The materialist conception of history is not only important because it allows us to explain history better than has been done up to now, but also because it enables us to MAKE HISTORY BETTER THAN HAS HITHERTO BEEN DONE."

Lewis H. Morgan, in "Ancient Society," although he had probably never heard anything about the materialist conception, shows that he recognizes its force in history. He says: "It fortunately



so happens that the events of human progress embody themselves, independently of particular men, in a material record, which is crystallized in institutions, usages and customs, and preserved in inventions and discoveries" (page 311). Although not a Socialist this great ethnologist, whose work under the direction of the Smithsonian Institute created an epoch in ethnological research, through years of patient study of prehistoric institutions and their relation to those of civilization, was compelled by the naked material facts that he discovered to condemn the present social organization and to recognize its transient character.

"Since the advent of civilization," says Morgan, in "Ancient Society," page 561, "the outgrowth of property has been so immense, its forms so diversified, its uses so expanding and its management so intelligent in the interests of its owners, that it has become, on the part of the people, an unmanageable power. The human mind stands bewildered in the presence of its own creation. The time will come, nevertheless, when human intelligence will rise to the mastery over property. . . . A mere property career is not the final destiny of mankind, if progress is to be the law of the future as it has been of the past. The time which has passed away since civilization began is but a fragment of the past duration of man's existence; and but a fragment of the ages yet to come. The dissolution of (present) society bids fair to become the termination of a career of which property is the end and aim; because such a career CONTAINS THE ELEMENTS OF SELF-DESTRUCTION. Democracy in government, brotherhood in society, equality in rights and privileges, and universal education foreshadow the next higher plane of society to which experience, intelligence and knowledge are steadily tending."

No wonder that the ruling class tried to smother the masterpiece of this great and independent thinker. He foretold their doom.

The materialist conception is now recognized in all the great universities of the world as the science of history. Commonly called economic determinism or

the economic interpretation of history, it has won a permanent place in the laboratory of historical research. Scarcely a month goes by that some new book does not come out applying, although sometimes very poorly, this Marxian discovery to some historical period. It has given a tremendous impetus to the study of human relationships, and its acceptance is a tribute to the intelligence of the Socialist workingmen of the whole world who for years have been teaching this doctrine to their fellow workers while the learned lackeys of the rich were still mumbling a miserable idealistic cant that is still being mumbled by the ignorant.

We could go on through history and trace the successive changes brought about in government, in religion, in morals, and in ideas of every kind by the successive alterations in the processes of production and exchange; but the student is capable of reading history himself and in the light of the materialist conception history at last ceases to be a chronological table of kings, generals, and politicians. This froth that floats on the top is swept aside and the powerful stream of industrial life is revealed.

The student of history finds at last that the mighty forces in society are the silent ones, the economic forces that grow through long years and at last burst their integuments and change the course of what before was thought unchangeable. We saw as we studied the "Communist Manifesto" and "Socialism—Utopian and Scientific," how the bourgeoisie by the slow accumulation of economic power at last made itself the master of the political state, trampling the fine idealism of the feudal lords into the dust. Industrial evolution and the acquirement of economic power always precedes the acquirement of political power. Victorious classes seize political power so as to maintain the advantages already gained on the economic field and to keep in servitude a subject class that will produce a surplus for their rulers. The seizure of this political power accelerates the rate of exploitation. The political usurpation by the bourgeoisie is an example.

(Continued)

# ORATORY

By John P. Altgeld

FROM THE PUBLIC

(Continued from the February Review)

## Message to Audience.

SOME men are overwhelmed by the thought of trying to prepare a speech. It seems so different from the ordinary affairs of life.

The same men could call on a neighbor in regard to almost any errand and tell him their mission without any embarrassment.

Let such men treat the prospective audience as they would treat the neighbor. Go before it on a special errand. Go before it because they have something definite to say—have a mission to present—and they can talk to an audience almost as easily as to a neighbor. No man should appear before an audience unless he feels that he has a special message for that audience. If he has this feeling, then he can make a good speech.

## Newspapers.

A copy of a speech should be furnished each newspaper when it is desired to have it published. It is almost impossible to take a speech in shorthand in the average hall, late at night, and have it printed accurately the following morning.

In the first place shorthand notes have to be taken in poor light. It requires a relay force, so that one reporter can go and write up his copy while the other continues to take notes. The notes have to be transcribed in a hurry, frequently in a poor light, and as many shorthand marks are very similar it is a matter of frequent occurrence that one word is substituted for another. Then the matter has to be set up in a hurry, when there are almost no opportunities for correction. Everything has to be rushed.

Again, until an editor sees a speech he cannot tell how much of it he wants to use. Generally the forms for the press are made up early in the evening, leaving only a little space for new matter that may come in.

Under these circumstances it is unrea-

sonable to expect a paper to get and publish much of any address.

But if it receives a copy of it twenty-four hours ahead of time the editor can examine it and as much of it as he decides to use can be set up with care and published accurately.

In such cases all that is necessary is to write or print at the top of the front page a note stating that it is "the speech of.....to be delivered at.....at the hour of.....o'clock on the.....day of.....19....and is released after delivery." All honorable editors respect this note, and will refrain from using the copy before it is released.

## Breakfast-Table Audience.

Modern oratory has to deal with an audience that the ancients knew not of, and that is the breakfast-table audience, which may number several millions, while the audience at the hall numbered only a few thousand.

To reach this breakfast-table audience, the orator must depend on his facts, his arrangement, and his literary excellence. Neither his voice nor his actions can reach these people.

Unless there is something above the ordinary in his speech the editor will not use it, and the public would pay no attention to it if he did.

The man who wants his speeches published must offer something that rises above the average; and that average in America is already high.

## Literary Excellence.

Literary excellence is the robe of immortality without which no speech can live. The ideas may be great and the delivery may be impassioned, but if it lacks literary finish it will be ephemeral. The breakfast-table audience will not see it, and by the evening of the morrow it will be forgotten.

It was literary excellence that saved us the great speeches of antiquity. With-



out it they would have faded from the earth even before the generations that heard them.

Ever-living principles, genius in arrangement, and perfection of form, will keep a speech vital to the end of time.

We are told that the Greeks had no grammar. Instead of beginning with the rules as we do, they developed their wonderful language by a constant striving after clearness, brevity, smoothness, and rhythm. The eye and the ear were thus trained to demand excellence. The same practice now will improve any man's speech.

#### Demosthenes.

As an inspiration to the ambitious, I quote the following from Grote's History of Greece, relating to Demosthenes:

"He studied Thucydides with indefatigable labor and attention. According to one account he copied the whole history eight times over with his own hand; according to another, he learned it all by heart so as to be able to rewrite it from memory when the manuscript was accidentally destroyed. How much the composition of Demosthenes was fashioned by the reading of Thucydides, reproducing the daring, majestic and impressive phraseology, yet without the overstrained brevity and involutions of that historian, and striving to blend with it a perspicuity and grace not inferior to Lysias, may be seen illustrated in the elaborate criticism of the rhetor Dionysius. While thus striking out for himself a bold and original style, Demosthenes had still greater difficulties to overcome in regard to the external requisites of an orator. He was not endowed by nature, like Aeschines, with a magnificent voice, nor, like Demades, with a ready flow of vehement improvisation. His thoughts required to be put together by careful preparation; his voice was bad, even lisping; his breath short, his gesticulation ungraceful; moreover, he was overawed and embarrassed by the manifestations of the multitude.

The energy and success with which Demosthenes overcame his defects in such a manner as to satisfy a critical assembly like the Athenian, is one of the most memorable circumstances in the general history of self-education. Repeated humiliation and repulse only

spurred him on to fresh solitary efforts for improvement. He corrected his defective elocution by speaking with pebbles in his mouth. He prepared himself to overcome the noise of the assembly by declaiming in stormy weather on the seashore at Phaleron. He opened his lungs by running, and extended his powers of holding breath by pronouncing sentences in marching up hill. He sometimes passed two or three months without interruption in a subterranean chamber, practicing night and day, either in composition or declamation, and shaving one-half of his head in order to disqualify himself from going abroad. After several trials without success before the assembly, his courage was on the point of giving way, when Eunomus and other old citizens reassured him by comparing the matter of his speeches to those of Pericles and exhorting him to persevere a little longer in the correction of his external defects. On another occasion he was pouring forth his disappointment to Satyrus, the actor, who undertook to explain to him the causes, desiring him to repeat in his own way a speech out of Sophocles which he, Satyrus, proceeded to repeat after him with suitable accent and delivery. Demosthenes, profoundly struck with the difference, began anew the task of self-improvement, probably taking constant lessons from nature's models. In his unremitting private practice he devoted himself especially to acquiring a graceful action, keeping watch on all his movements while declaiming before a tall looking-glass. After pertinacious efforts for several years he was rewarded at length with complete success. His delivery became full of decision and vehemence, highly popular with the general body of the assembly, although some critics censured his modulation as artificial and out of nature, and savoring of low stage effects, while others of the same spirit condemned his speeches as overlabored and smelling of the lamp. So great was the importance assigned by Demosthenes himself to these external means of effect, that he is said to have pronounced action to be the first, second and third requisite of oratory. (Chap. 87.)

#### Utilitarian Talk.

Outside of the circle of oratory there is a great field of what may be called

"utilitarian talk." It is the world's everyday talk of its ordinary affairs, including politics, business, religion, etc. It includes the average speech-making, lecturing and preaching; and most of us are glad to be even a small factor here.

The American people average higher than any others as all-around talkers and stump speakers. This is due to the nature of our institutions and the fact that all the people participate in the discussions of every public question.

This utilitarian talk is useful, important, and even necessary; but there is no glory won here. It is the work of the everyday draft horse, indispensable to man's well being; but it is not the everyday draft horse that commands the world's interest or admiration. He has indeed done the world's work and makes the world his debtor, but he does not stir the blood nor arouse the enthusiasm of men. It is the carefully trained speedy horse that men go miles to see. Great speed is the result of the highest training.

Let it be understood that the so-called "strong speech," "able speech," "forceful

talk," "excellent points," etc., are all of the draft horse variety. They do not rise to the plane of true excellence; they lack art, and do not constitute oratory.

The knowledge displayed may be ample, the facts may be conclusive, and the fervor of the talker may be great; but so long as exquisite arrangement, elegance of language and high finish are wanting, the effort falls below oratory.

But let no man suppose that a speech should be simply an elegant or nice affair. Dilettanteism simply excites contempt.

The idea I wish to inculcate in the minds of the young is that they must acquire elegance of diction and nicety and accuracy of expression; they must cultivate the voice until they have a perfect command of it; they must accustom the mind to orderly and logical arrangement; and when they wish to discuss a subject get all the facts, not only into the mind, but into the very blood, then pour the whole soul into it, and they will approach oratory.

## THE FREE TRIP TO VIENNA

SUBSCRIPTIONS have been coming in fast this past month from the hustlers who have entered the race for 300 yearly or 600 six-month REVIEW subscriptions for the free trip to the International Socialist Congress, to be held in Vienna, Austria, August 23, 1914.

Everybody is united in saying this is the greatest offer ever made by any magazine. We ask our hustlers to send to us only 300 yearly or 600 six-month subscriptions at the regular cash rate of \$1.00 a year, and we pay railroad fare to New York and back from any point east of Chicago; steamship fares across and back, railroad fare to and from Vienna, and allow \$25 for hotel bills.

Comrade John Burns, of Wilkes Barre, Pa., heads the list for the past week, having sent in fifty-six yearlies in just seven days. This record almost equals the one made by Dr. Gibbs of Scranton, who secured three hundred yearly subscriptions in less than

one month and added another hundred in the succeeding two weeks.

Gust Nelson of East Rockford, Ill., has made a start in spite of the cold weather and expects to show his pace before the month is over. Kate Kidwell of Jackson, Mich., has added to her credit in spite of the railroad accident that upset her home city this month. E. J. Hoffpauir means to represent the southern rank and file, and from what we know of his past sub-getting record, we believe he will win easily.

Orlando Carpenter of Charleston, Mass., is today the fourth man in the running and ought to be able to have the required 300 subscriptions to his credit before the spring months. He will make an able delegate and everybody in his state is rooting for him and Comrade Olive S. Leavitt for whom the Central Socialist Club of her home town is soliciting subscriptions through the Bay State. L. T. Rush sends his in almost as regularly as a clock.



Others who have entered the lists during the past month are Bertha Caroff of Montana, Leroy Bruce, Pennsylvania, and a score of others who have not had time to report.

Now that it has been definitely decided to hold the International Socialist Congress in Vienna, starting August 23rd, many young Socialists, who are attending school during the winter, can enter the contest with the assurance that they may have a month after school closes to finish securing three hundred names.

We want to send fifty delegates from the rank and file of the Socialist Party. Any live Socialist can secure three hundred subscriptions and take advantage of this opportunity to attend the greatest International Congress the world has ever known. Such a trip will be an inspiration to you and to the comrades in your vicinity.

As stated in all references to this offer, you must send the subscriptions to this office at the regular cash rate of \$1.00 for yearlies

and 50 cents for six month subscriptions. We want to give the REVIEW delegates the best accommodations possible. We want to make their trip one of value to them and to their locals and states. The trip will be an expensive one for us. It will leave us a little less than the sum necessary to fill the new subscriptions our delegates send in. But it will put the REVIEW into the hands of many new readers and win them to the Socialist movement. It will send back to America delegates who have touched hands and exchanged ideas with active Socialists from almost every country in the world.

Take this matter up with your local. Get the various comrades to take subscriptions and make the one securing the most out of the required three hundred—the local's delegate to Vienna. This is what some of our Ohio comrades are doing. Get the support of your Socialist newspaper. Write us for sample copies of the REVIEW and start NOW

## EDITORIAL

**Connecticut Socialism.** It seems a little hard on some of our Connecticut comrades to head this paragraph in this way, but after all these same comrades are responsible for the election of S. E. Beardsley as state secretary, so they must share some responsibility for what he has been saying. It was in an address before the Rand school, and the *New York Call* reports the aforesaid address at great length in its issue of February 1. In it he says:

"A speaker knows when he comes to Connecticut for the Socialist Party that he is to speak for political Socialism and not for the I. W. W. or any other economic body. . . . Nor is our speaker allowed to air his personal grudges against the church from our platform. . . . The first attempt made by a speaker to talk on the economic question or to assail the church, he goes out of the State entirely. This method has resulted in this—70 per cent of the members of the Socialist Party in Connecticut are Catholics, and 90 per cent of this 70 per cent are communicants. This we have done by just adopting the methods above mentioned."

In other words, the Socialist Party of

Connecticut, according to its secretary, has placed itself in direct opposition to the national platform of the Socialist Party of America, has set itself the task of vote-catching and office-seeking pure and simple, and has barred from the state all speakers who will not pursue the same tactics. And as a consequence of this policy the state secretary points with pride to the alleged fact—we hope his figures are wrong—that 63 per cent of the dues-paying members who control the policy of the party, are in the habit of confessing their sins to a priest, and look to a future life for their reward for docility to the priest during this life. Right here we will quote what the platform of the Socialist Party has to say on the questions involved:

"In the face of the economic and political aggressions of the capitalist class, the only reliance left the workers is that of their economic organizations and their political power. By the intelligent and class-conscious use of these, they may resist successfully the capitalist class, break the fetters of wage-slavery,

and fit themselves for the future society, which is to displace the capitalist system. The Socialist Party appreciates the full significance of *class organization* and urges the wage earners, the working farmers and all other useful workers everywhere to organize for *economic and political action*."

"The Socialist Party . . . is a party founded on the science and laws of social development."

These sentences were put into the party platform because they represent convictions that are absolutely vital to all sincere and well-informed Socialists. If Socialism means anything it means the march of the workers to the overthrow of the capitalists on both the economic and the political field. The economic struggle, as declared by the membership of the Socialist Party of America in 1912, is one of the means by which the working class is to break the fetters of wage slavery. And no one can have a clear conception of the origin or the aims of Socialism without a study of the "science and laws of social development," to quote the words of our platform. This means a study of evolution, as discovered and applied by Darwin in the field of physical science and by Marx in the field of social science. The Socialist Party welcomes new recruits, asking no questions as to their religious beliefs. But new recruits are a help to the party only when loyal to its principles. If Catholics capture a state organization and stifle the work of Socialist education, they are certainly doing good work for their clerical and capitalist masters.

**Reform From Above.** King George of England, according to a recent editorial in the *Chicago Tribune*, has recently waked up to the fact that he is personally the owner of one of the worst slums in London. The *Tribune* continues:

The king now proposes to raze the old buildings in his slum holdings, widen the narrow streets, and construct in their stead "substantial, commodious, and comely dwellings." In these new buildings he will give every attention, it is announced by the sanitary engineers carrying out his wishes, "to the mainstays of domestic life."

It is encouraging to see the wave of reform penetrate even behind palace walls. The demand for social justice in the United States is being answered by capitalists in the United States with liberal plans for profit sharing and welfare work. Reform from above takes off

the edge of much of the class bitterness of the times.

Precisely so. If the wage-workers accept "reform from above" at its face value, smilingly, gratefully and uncritically, they will get it, in homeopathic doses, until they have gone to their last reward, while a generation of philanthropic reformers will have been enjoying the good things these same workers produced. And if the Socialist Party were to desert the battlefields of the class war, and set itself the task of urging on the very reforms which the more intelligent capitalists already see the necessity of conceding, it would be throwing away all chance of growth and usefulness, for it would become nothing but a weak echo of the "Democratic" or "Progressive" machines which are really doing some of the things we have talked about. The Socialist propaganda that will bring results today is an application of Marx's laws of economic determinism, surplus value and the class struggle to the United States of America in 1914. This does not mean long words and lumbering sentences, but neither does it mean a muddle-headed acceptance of reform from above as a step toward our goal. The American wage-worker today is producing \$10.00 worth of commodities a day and getting \$2.00. The reformers plan raising him to \$3.00 and increasing his "efficiency" so he can produce \$15 for the owners. The raise is a good thing, but let us think clearly about it and help other wage-workers think clearly also, instead of getting up and shouting for the reform. Government ownership of railroads and coal mines will certainly be a good thing for the little capitalists. How it affects the wage-workers will depend on who runs the government. Happily we of the Socialist Party can never go very far wrong for very long together. If we should go wrong for a little while the great mass of wage-workers, driven by unerring primitive instincts, would drift away from us, and our strength would dwindle until we steer once more on the straight course. And that is why some day we are sure to win, not with reform from above, but with revolution from below.



# INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

**The Iron Heel in Africa.** Everybody has been interpreting the bitter fight in the Transvaal to support his own theories. Here was a "general" strike, and it failed. What the workers lacked was industrial organization. What the workers lacked was political power. It is easy to prove anything on the basis of a struggle that occurred ten thousand miles away under conditions that most of us know nothing about.

The only thing that is clear to one who reads the reports from the Dark Continent is something that we all know very well to begin with. We know that in many parts of the world labor is oppressed to the point of desperation. We know, too, that philanthropic capitalists are willing to suspend constitutions and commit murder to save a shilling or two in wages. The only thing that makes the South African fight remarkable is the fact that it was more open and honest than most. It was also more bloody. Here, on the edge of civilization, the class struggle was as undisguised as any international war ever was. It must have been perfectly visible even to the naked eye of a political economist.

For a year past the South African government has been "retrenching" in the management of its railway system. Many men have been discharged, and before the strike broke out many more were slated to go. The men, on their part, maintained that many of those dismissed had been victimized for their activities in the labor movement. As a result of the general discontent which resulted from this condition a strike of railway workers began on January 8th. It spread so rapidly that within a few days Orange River Colony, Natal and Cape Colony were affected. A general strike was called by the labor council. The cables promised a general tie-up of industry.

The government acted "with energy." The Citizen Defense Force was called out and the country was placed under martial law. Here are a few of the regulations published and put in force: No political meetings to be held; persons in

possession of dynamite to be put to death; military authorities in complete control; words "scab" and "black-leg" forbidden.

Men were arrested wholesale. The climax came when about three hundred unionists were besieged in the Trades Hall at Johannesburg. They refused to yield to the soldiers. Mr. Bain, the secretary of the Trades Council? For several days they held out, and yielded only when a field gun was placed in position to fire on them and they were told that unless they yielded in fifteen minutes the building would be blown to pieces.

Under these circumstances the strike appears to have gone to pieces rapidly. But the government was not content with mere victory. It capped its outrageous procedure with an act which even outranks the recent kidnapping of Moyer in the Michigan strike. On Jan. 28th Premier Botha had ten strike leaders placed on board a vessel and deported. The whole thing was done secretly. The men themselves were not told where they were being sent until their vessel was ready to sail. Then they were given an hour and a half to write letters to their friends and relatives on shore. The vessel is not equipped with wireless. For months the men will be at sea entirely cut off from communication with the outside world.

Of course we are used to this sort of thing in the United States, but it strikes backward Englishmen as something novel and not at all agreeable. Only the most conservative English papers have the nerve to defend it. All England awaits with alarm the landing of the victims in London.

In the meantime Premier Botha has been violently attacked in the South African parliament, but the majority has supported him.

Of course it must be remembered that in this fight the union men had against them the fear that a general conflict would lead to an uprising of natives. This fear was skillfully played upon by the government. And the race division between the Boers and the English was a

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chief source of weakness. The burghers willingly answered the call to arms and served the ancient English enemy in most effective style. On the other hand it was demonstrated once more that the English working class gained nothing when the English government conquered South Africa.

### Municipal Capitalism and the Workers.

The people of Leeds, England, know now that municipal ownership is not Socialism. At least they have had a good chance to learn.

Some two years ago the municipal workers of Leeds organized a branch of city Trades and Labor Council. Since then they have been perfecting their organization and working out a plan of action. They had been promised a liberal consideration of any demands which they might formulate. Finally, in December, they presented a general demand for a two shilling raise for all unskilled workers. The demand was met liberally. The municipality spent more than \$500,000 to keep the workers from getting their two shillings.

The strike was declared on Dec. 10th. Practically all the employes of the city walked out. The street car men voted 50 to 1 in favor of the strike. Special police were secured in great numbers. Scabs were paid high wages and cared for in the most lavish manner. All the hangers-on of respectable society came out to keep the poorest of the workers from adding two shillings to their weekly wage. The students, the clerks, the clergymen, worked shoulder to shoulder in this noble cause.

The street car men deserted first. They were told that their jobs would be taken from them if they failed to return by a certain day; and they returned. Soon after this practically all the skilled workers gave up. The others stood out so

bravely that the special committee of the municipal corporation was in end forced to grant them fairly decent terms. But the strike was lost and all respectable England breathed easy again. The unskilled workers did not get their two shillings a week, and the country was saved.

What a terrible commentary is all this on the reformism of which we hear so much from the liberal government!

And the workers lost because they failed to stick together. As was the case in South Africa, the workers used neither political power nor industrial power in any concerted or rational way. Solidarity is as yet a thing to talk about.

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# NEWS AND VIEWS



ROBERT KNIGHT.

**ROBERT KNIGHT, REBEL**—Robert Knight, one of the most active workers in the American Socialist and labor movement, died January 31st, at the Deaconess Hospital, while attending the convention of the United Mine Workers as a delegate from Colorado.

The visiting committee appointed by the Socialist Party Local, of Indianapolis, called daily to see Comrade Knight during his illness, to offer their services. On the day before his death, the Committee left the hospital with the assurance that Comrade Knight was improving and would soon be able to bear arms again in the great Cause of Labor. His death on Thursday came as a great shock to them, and to the many friends who have for years fought side by side with Comrade Knight in his ceaseless efforts to educate and aid his own class.

Comrade Knight was President of Local 995 of the U. M. W. of A. He was born thirty-four years ago and spent his childhood in southern Indiana. He left school at an early age to help

support the family, and, as he said, "worked at almost every job that employs unskilled labor." From 1900 to 1907 he followed railroad construction work and caught the spirit of revolt that is growing so fast among proletarians the world over.

In 1907 he began studying Socialist literature and organized the first Socialist party local in his home town—St. Croix, Indiana. The ignorance of the native people and their prejudices against Socialism, stirred up by scarcely less ignorant Catholic leaders, resulted in the assassination of Robert Knight's oldest brother, and the family was forced to leave the town to save their lives.

They located in Longmont, Colorado, where Comrade Knight organized the Socialist local. Comrade Knight has been for some years a speaker of marked power and ability. Two years ago he toured the country as one of the Party National Lyceum Lecturers.

Readers of the REVIEW will miss an old



friend in losing his contributions from the REVIEW. Comrade Knight had promised to write up the U. M. W. of A. Convention for the March issue. He gave us the story of the Nine Sharpshooters which appeared in the February number, about which we have received scores of letters the past few weeks.

Robert Knight sprung from the rank and file of labor. Many times the love and trust of his fellow-workers for him was so great that they would have gladly lifted him to a position of what men call a greater distinction, but he preferred to remain in the ranks and fight. This was sufficient honor for him.

Comrade Knight never trimmed his sails to catch the breeze of any popular delusion. Modestly, quietly, faithfully he worked—asking no better than the poorest of his comrades received.

Greater than this can be said of no man: He was always faithful to the interests of the Working Class!

**Wallace Miners' Union No. 17, W.F.M.**—Comrade Sam Kilburn fires in a check for a bundle of REVIEWS during the coming year, as he is wise to the fact that our only hope lies in education.

**Leeds, England.**—Our comrades of the Armley & Wortley Socialist Club and Institute place an order for a standing bundle of ten REVIEWS and also order a bunch of books. More power to our British comrades.

**W. F. of M. Order.**—The Miami Miners' Union of Miami, Ariz., sent in a bundle order this month for five copies of the REVIEW a month for one year. The miners are always to the front in revolutionary activity!

**From California.**—"We are in the midst of floods and hard times, but we must have the REVIEW and Gustavus Myers' 'History of Canadian Wealth.'"—Comrade Nevins.

**A Port Angeles Paper.**—Word comes to us that the comrades have started the *Peninsula Free Press* at Port Angeles, Wash., a Socialist paper that is hewing close to the class struggle in all its news items and educational matter. Comrade Boomer, the editor, says: "This paper was started by Socialists and friends. The money was raised inside of a month and the building was put up by volunteer labor from the comrades. The *Free Press* has been practically self-sustaining since the first issue." Comrades who are interested in the movement in the northwest, take notice! Here is a chance to add a live one to your list.

**From Roanoke, Va.**—"The regular force of car builders here is working eight hours a day and only five days a week. The introduction of steel cars is smashing the car builders' craft, as the material now comes all ready to put together. It used to take a week to build the old-style wooden passenger coach; it now takes a little over two days. I look on your publishing house as the cleanest and most reliable Socialist institution in this country. Enclosed find ten new subscriptions besides my own."—Comrade Thierry.



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Kidwell,	Jackson, Mich.	11
Myers	Blanco, Colo.	10
Johnson,	Columbia City, Ind.	10
Bjork,	Murray, Utah,	11
Willard,	Brooklyn, N. Y.	10
Steen,	Ada, Ohio.	10
Gordon,	Boston, Mass.	11
Wehrwein,	Minneapolis, Minn.	12
Flaig,	Cincinnati, Ohio.	12
Peterson,	Avery, Iowa.	12
Watkins,	Wilburton, Okla.	17
Sybert,	Fredell, Pa.	21
Burk,	Sapulpa, Okla.	10
Reneau,	McDonald, Kansas.	11
McComas,	Pleasant Valle, Cal.	10
Nicoll,	Cumberland, Md.	12
Kinch,	Los Angeles, Cal.	11
Heberling,	Havana, Ill.	11
Anderson,	Cumberland, Wis.	14
Andrews,	San Antonio, Tex.	10
Carlson,	Vulcan, Mich.	11
Morris,	Elizabeth, Pa.	14
Burnett,	Paris, Ill.	12
Flemming,	Rockford, Wash.	11
Hill,	Elgin, Texas.	11
Thierry,	Roanoke, Va.	11
Shipperley,	San Francisco, Cal.	51
Hirzel,	Lewiston, Idaho.	15
Roelsma,	Birmingham, Wash.	10
Cohen,	Boston, Mass.	10
Smith,	Blue Anchor, N. Y.	10
Logis,	Baltimore, Md.	16
Dasback,	Duryea, Pa.	11
Barr,	N. McGregor, Iowa.	10
Curtis,	Riverside, Cal.	10
Kruczyuma,	Pittsburgh, Pa.	12
Burpee,	Forest, Cal.	15
Mamers,	Ft. Staunton, N. M.	12
Kutcher,	Winslow, Ariz.	10
Brugart,	Port Bolivar, Tex.	11
Hunt,	Aberdeen, S. Dak.	10
Trevland,	Bynum, Mont.	10
May,	Springfield, Ill.	11
Steinmann,	Goldfield, Nev.	11
Miller,	Neosho, Mo.	18
Nebbe,	Cordova, Alaska.	10
Sandberg,	Dawson, Y. T., Canada.	15
Engmark,	Jackson, Mich.	10
Jorgensen,	Salt Lake City, Utah.	10
Lusk,	Myrtle Point, Ore.	10
Mikko,	Laurium, Mich.	10

**Fostoria, Ohio.**—"Our February REVIEWS are all gone and they are the real stuff. Please send more copies at once."—Hollenbaugh, Secretary.

**Grand Rapids, Mich.**—"When Helen Keller was here she was asked, 'How long have you studied economics?' She answered, 'Two years in college and one year with my eyes open.'"

**Calixico, Cal.**—"Hurrah for the REVIEW! It is in a class by itself. Send it along for another year, as I am in the fight to stay."—Scott.

**Canada.**—"Cannot do without the REVIEW so long as it sticks to the double action policy, political and industrial."—Burry.



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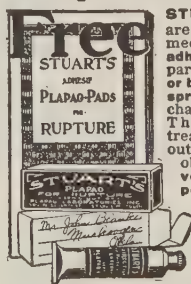
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**In Oregon.**—Your editorial, "The Growth of the Capitalist State" in January REVIEW finds an echo in the mind of every practical thinking Socialist. Government ownership—state capitalism—is coming. Nothing can stop the capitalist move in that direction. Nor is it wise to try to do so; but Socialists everywhere want to keep cool heads and not be carried away with their socialistic plan.

Political action, added to industrial action, through organized unionism, gives us power in government. We can, through political action, use the government for our purpose and seize the industries of the land through legal enactments. There are no policemen's clubs or bullets by this route. This is the way out of capitalism.

Working to this end there is being agitated the initiative of a proportional representation measure with good prospects for its becoming a law. Oregon, as you may know, is the most foremost state in the nation with democratic laws. The people here rule. The great trouble is that the workers (people) do not know what they want. The Socialist party in this state, as elsewhere, has been scrapping among themselves, and Socialist sentiment is far in the lead of the organized party work.

However, the movement for popular government has become so strong that a number of different organization are considering the endorsement of a proportional representation measure that *their* organizations may be represented in the Legislative Assembly. This, of course, will land the Socialist party along with the balance of them and we are getting help from those who care very little about our philosophy.

Once this measure is launched, the Socialist party members will push the petition-getting to a finish. If we succeed in passing the measure we will put at least ten Socialist members in the 1916 Assembly.

From this vantage point we can teach the lessons of Socialist philosophy among the heathen in spite of the deceiving, misleading capitalist press.—C. W. Barzee, 68 E. 30th, Portland, Ore.

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**Away Up North.**—Comrade James S. Robertson, organizer of Nanaimo local, S. D. P., fires in a telegram for 100 February REVIEWS. Our Canadian comrades are certainly "on the job" judging by the way orders are coming in for revolutionary literature.

**Yukon Territory.**—Comrade Sandberg of Dawson fires in fifteen yearly subs and writes: "I could not resist the temptation after sprinkling those sixty REVIEWS over town. Every one of the last subscribers has gotten his REVIEW and all are well pleased." Our Canadian comrades certainly appreciate the Fighting Magazine.

**An Illinois Red.**—"Enclosed find check for two REVIEWS a month for one year. I like the INTERNATIONAL better and better with every number. It is a dandy. I look for it anxiously near the time of its coming out. May its issue increase manyfold."—Geo. Schreiner, Austin, Illinois.

**Proportional Representation.**—I herewith present my ideas for a more equitable distribution of powers among the various constituencies of the Socialist Party. Proportional representation is the only system that can fit into the commission form of government, and will become one of the greatest campaign issues from now on. Our party platform contains a demand for such laws, but we have thus far made no efforts to practice what we preach.

The party has long practiced the initiative and referendum and the rank and file of the membership have a fair idea of its working, and constantly are improving by eliminating any imperfections in its construction. But we can not go into the legislative bodies of capitalist society and frame anything but clumsily worded measures for proportional representation. If for no other reason, that would be enough to make it our duty to elect our own delegate bodies by said method in order to acquire experience, and discover defects, so that we could go out and offer the non-Socialists a best possible plan.

My plan of electing the national executive committee of the Socialist Party is as follows:

An Executive Committee of five members and an Executive Secretary shall be elected annually by means of the initiative, preferential voting on the referendum and proportional representation. The call for nominations shall be issued during the first seven days in January to all the locals and branches. Thirty days shall be allowed for nominations, ten days for acceptances and declinations and fifty for the referendum. Each member of the party in good standing, certified by his secretary, may nominate as many candidates as there are positions to be filled. Nominations from five per cent of the membership shall entitle a candidate to be placed on the ballot. The ballots shall contain a list of candidates,

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two blank lines headed First Choice and Second Choice on which the voter may write the names of two candidates for executive secretary in order of preference, and five blank lines, two of which shall be headed First Choice and Second Choice, on which may be written the names of five candidates for executive committee. When returns are canvassed, the candidates are elected who: First, have not received less than one-sixth of the total first choice vote; Second, have received not less than one-sixth of the total first and second choice vote combined; Third, have received the highest number of votes among the remaining candidates, not counting by the preferential method. The next highest on the list shall be the alternates for filling vacancies. The executive secretary and committee shall assume office on the first day of June, following their election; Provided, that upon the adoption of this amendment a special election shall be held.

The National Committee shall be elected in similar manner as the executive committee, with this difference, that the next national committee meeting shall subdivide the territory of the United States into ten districts as nearly equal as possible in membership, and then the membership of the party residing in such districts shall each elect five members of the national committee.

**Referendum:** One per cent of the membership may initiate a referendum and when so initiated shall remain open for ninety days from the date of its first publication and unless it shall receive the requisite number of seconds within such period it shall be abandoned. Referendum elections shall be held in the months of June and December of each year; Provided, that upon demand of a majority of the national committee or ten per cent of the membership, the vote shall commence within ten days.

**A Party Owned Press:** Five editors in chief shall be elected at the same time and in the same manner as the national executive committee. The members of this press committee shall have equal rights and privileges regardless of differences of opinions, and shall constitute a committee on party owned press, and their duties shall be to bring as many Socialist periodicals as may be necessary under the protecting wings of the party, and under guarantee that such organs shall not be monopolized by any official clique, but shall at all times be an open forum for exchange of ideas, such as are held by the minority as well as those held by a majority.

**Comment:** Proportional representation is an effort of fellow thinkers to reach over narrow boundary lines and clasp hands in advocating their common ideas in mass meetings, and also to send their representatives to the city and county central committees, etc., so that all deliberate assemblies shall be a true reflex of the ideas of their constituents—a majority with ideas like the majority and minorities with ideas like the minorities.

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**In the Dock.**—The trial of Frederick Sumner Boyd comes up in a few days and the comrades must not forget that William D. Haywood will face charges on the old Paterson case with Carlo Tresca, Alexander Scott and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn in the very near future. It takes money to fight these cases, and our friends want to remember to send a donation in care of the I. W. W. headquarters, 164 Washington St., this city, and help all they can. Art Young and Max Eastman are putting up a stiff fight against the Associated Press, but it is almost impossible for any one to win against the great news faucet of America. Better get your local to give a little entertainment for the benefit of the friends who are being victimized and rush the money in for their defense. Money for Eastman and Young should be sent care of *The Masses*, 91 Greenwich Ave., New York.

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**In the Hospitals.**—Comrade Lively, of Canada, suggests that the Socialists find out the visiting days at the hospitals and take in old Socialist books and magazines and gain new converts that will add to our fighting strength.

**From the Frozen North.**—One of the liveliest REVIEW supporters is Comrade Emma Mutchler, of Atlin, B. C., who has rounded up thirteen yearly readers during the past month and this in face of the fact that dollars are scarce up that way at this time of the year. She will receive a fine selection of Socialist books, free of charge, from the publishing house in a few days as an appreciation of her work.

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**The Trial of a New Society.**—The story of victorious industrial unionism in Lawrence, Mass. A vivid picture from the class struggle today. An invaluable historical document. By Justus Ebert. I. W. W. Publishing Bureau, 112 Hamilton Ave., Cleveland, Ohio. 75 cents net.

**Immigration.**—The world movement and its significance in America; full of statistics for the student of this subject. By Henry Pratt Fairchild. The Macmillan Company, New York, N. Y. \$1.75 net.

**Child Labor in City Streets.**—A wealth of data on this vital subject—with the legal as well as the economic status and aspects. By Edward N. Clopper, Ph.D. The Macmillan Company, New York, N. Y. \$1.00 net. This book is appalling in its revelations—a plea not for feeble regulation, but for the prohibition of a hitherto almost wholly ignored form of child labor.

**The Electro-Individualistic Manifesto.**—A prophecy that reminds us of William Morris. The author believes that an era of electrical supremacy is approaching wherein individual production will be stimulated through the use of small electricity-driven motors. An interesting and fanciful picture which we believe modern production will prevent materializing. By Heinrich Charles. Published at 115 Broadway, New York, N. Y., by the author.

**A History of Freedom of Thought.**—A gauntlet thrown to those who have faith in Authority. A criticism of modern education and a suggestion for a better system. "Distrust thy father and mother," says J. B. Bury, Litt.D., LL.D., the author, is the first commandment for the promotion of individual thought. Every Categorical Imperative should make this book his bed-fellow. Henry Holt & Co., New York, N. Y. 50 cents net.

**Co-Partnership and Profit-Sharing.**—A plan to transform autocracy and monopoly into democracy, gradually, peacefully, and with Profit to Everybody. A social myth, By Aneurin Williams, M.A. Henry Holt & Company, New York, N. Y. 50 cents net.

**The Revolt of Democracy.**—The last child of the mind of one of the greatest scientists of the age. A plea for democracy. The author, Alfred Russell Wallace, closes his Last Chapter with the following words of

counsel: "Any Government that will not abolish starvation in this land of superfluous wealth must be **Driven from Power**. The forces of Labor, if united in the demand for this one **Primary** object, must and will succeed. Then will easily follow the general rise of wages at the cost of our unprecedented individual wealth and the absorption of the unemployed in self-supporting communities, re-occupying our deserted land and bringing about a more general and more beneficial prosperity than our country has ever before enjoyed. May they (our statesmen) prove themselves equal to the great opportunity which the justifiable revolt of Labor has now afforded them."

It would be unfair to expect a man who had contributed so greatly to the scientific knowledge of the world in one field to bring a like vigor and perception into a new line of research in his declining years. Nevertheless, Dr. Wallace sees clearly the wrongs of present-day society. Had he brought the same keen vision to the study of politics that he devoted to biology in the old days, he would have realized that there is no disinterested man under the sun, and that the working class alone may be trusted to work out working class emancipation. Funk & Wagnalls Company, New York, N. Y. \$1.00 net.

**Henry Dubb.**—Open Letters, by The Vag. Dedicated to Ryan Walker, America's Rebel Cartoonist, 290 Wakefield St., Wellington, New Zealand. Every Socialist in America remembers Henry Dubb, originated by Ryan Walker, the cartoonist. "The Vag" of Wellington, New Zealand, has written a series of letters to "Henry" that make the cleverest propaganda reading we have seen in many months. The book contains brilliant cartoons and pithy arguments for Socialism—every one with a laugh in it. We need something of this sort in America, and suggest that the comrades who are looking for something clear and attractive will send an international postal coupon for 10 cents to "The Worker Print, 290 Wakefield St., Wellington, New Zealand," for sample copies. We believe these could be sent to the United States at 3 cents a copy. This little brochure is one of the Maoriland Worker pamphlets. We want to congratulate the comrades on their latest success.





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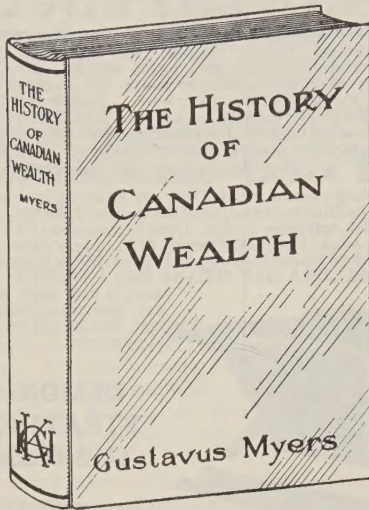
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